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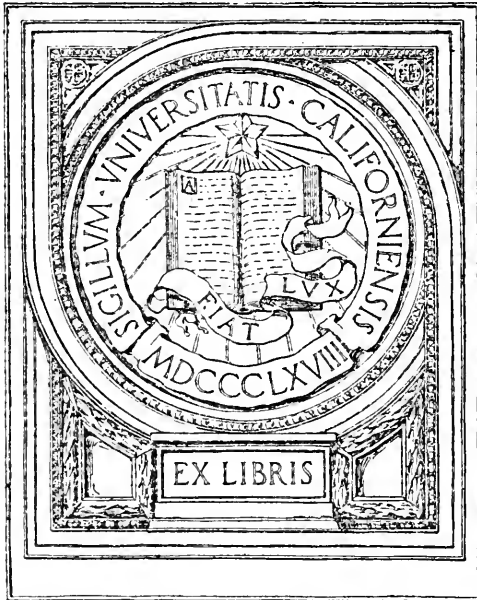
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to the

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SOUTHERN BRANCH**



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1911

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FREDERICK I.," "HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES,"
"HISTORY OF THE STATES OF THE WEST FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO
MAXIMILIAN," ETC.

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VOLUME X
OF
A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS



LEA BROTHERS & COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK

1038

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THE RENEWAL OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE, AND THE FIRST NATIONAL WARS.

(A.D. 1328-1388.)

THE RENEWAL OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE, AND THE FIRST NATIONAL WARS.

(A.D. 1328-1388.)

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

THE most important sources for the history of the fourteenth century in Germany are the biographies of its two chief actors, the emperors Louis IV. the Bavarian, and Charles IV. The author of the life of Louis from 1311 to 1347 is unknown. A decided opponent of the Hapsburgs, he sets their deeds in the most unfavorable light, and passes in silence over facts derogatory to his hero's character. The author must have been a cleric, judging from his point of view and style. He did not finish his work, which he began during the emperor's lifetime, until after the latter's death. Then there is the autobiography of Charles IV. Its value is chiefly literary, yet it gives proof of the mental peculiarity of the clever Luxemburg; it closes with the year 1346, when Charles became anti-king. It has a preface which is directed particularly to his sons, Wenceslaus and Sigismund, not to speak of his successors in general. The style, which is at first fresh and lively, soon drags, which is explained by the fact that Charles only carried the work down to 1340. The date of its original composition is not known. We have only a later revision, made after 1366, to which an unknown author added the history of the years from 1341 to 1346, presumably at Charles's request. It seems that he wrote from memory, which caused his

chronology to be very defective. On the whole, it is a question whether the work of Charles was intended to be more than a sketch to be filled out by a trained historian. For he commissioned a Bohemian nobleman, Benesch von Weitmühl, to write the history of his times. Benesch enlarged and rectified the older annals of the chapter of Prague cathedral; and, moreover, Charles gave him the material which he himself had collected for the continuation of his autobiography.

We have other historians, partly local and partly general, for the time of Louis the Bavarian. John, the abbot of Viktring on Lake Wörth, was indebted for his historical knowledge to his lord, Henry of Carinthia, whose agent he had been. The Austrian dukes Albert II. and Otto, who succeeded later in Carinthia, prized the business-like and trustworthy abbot; and to the former he dedicated the work to which he had devoted himself since 1341. With wonderfully rich materials at his disposal, John wished to write the history of Austria and Carinthia from the death of Duke Leopold in 1231 to his own times. As sources he used practically only the so-called rhymed chronicle of Ottocar and a few smaller Carinthian jottings; but he drew a much richer mass of information from the communications of persons who were themselves concerned in the events he relates. Of the various redactions the earliest is not extant. Only two later ones remain, of which the latter is the fuller, and traces the history of the empire from Charlemagne to 1343. The open and candid manner of the abbot of Viktring is engaging. In the midst of bitter party strife he preserved a rare calmness and independent judgment. A trusted servant of the house of Hapsburg, he of course opposes the emperor Louis. But he is not a fanatic, and is far from being an unconditional believer in the papal policy of the time.

The chronicle of John of Winterthur in Switzerland also reaches to the end of the reign of Louis. He was a Minorite, who had lived long in Swabia, and after 1343 lived in Lindau and Zurich. On the basis of his knowledge of Swabian affairs, his chronicle treats the period from the emperor Frederick II. to 1339, to which John afterwards added notices for the years from 1341 to 1347. He lacked a party standpoint, and was undecided whether to espouse the imperial or papal cause. At the same time he is always bent on gloryfying the Franciscan order, and shows an unmistakable interest in legends and miracles. About the same time Matthias of Neuburg,

in the Breisgau, wrote a history from the time of Frederick II. to that of Charles IV., that is, from 1245 to 1350. His chronicle is valuable even for the times of Rudolf of Hapsburg, and belongs to the best sources of this period. His history was written in Strasburg, and shows the traditional friendly bias of that city towards the house of Hapsburg. The local historians of this city are among the best of this period. To this class belongs the Strasburg chronicle of Fritsche Closener. It extends to 1362, but does not begin to be detailed before the time of Rudolf I., and becomes meagre after the death of Louis the Bavarian. The work is only a collection of material which was later to be worked up into literary form. Of much greater value is the chronicle of Jacob Twinger of Königs-hofen, which comes down to the death of Charles IV., in 1378. The author seems to have collected his material for a long time. With a view to grouping it, he arranged it under certain heads, and added an index of its contents to make it more serviceable. Consequently this Latin work scarcely deserves the name of a history, which, indeed, was never given to it. About 1382 Twinger began a German chronicle "for the clever laymen, who are as eager to hear old historical tales as the learned clerics." The author revised it three times. The last revision is the most detailed, and reaches to 1415. Twinger's headings are peculiar, inasmuch as they separate church history entirely from political history. The work has another peculiarity, an index. It has the customary bias toward the house of Hapsburg, and is furthermore influenced in church matters by the enmity of Strasburg to the bishopric of that city. Twinger is remarkable for his strong national spirit, which sets him strongly against the French. All these qualities make it clear why his chronicle had the great success which is proved by the large number of copies still extant. It had the great merit of being the first universal history in German which was accessible to all.

Among the increasing town histories of this period, the so-called "Magdeburg Schöppenechronik" deserves mention. It was probably written by the city notary, Henry of Lamspringe, and is a contemporary account from 1350 to 1372. Three continuations, reaching respectively to 1385, 1397, and 1400-1403, are of inferior quality.

The history of Henry of Diessenhofen, the most famous Swabian historian, is the best South German history of this time. Relying on the renowned church history of Bartholomew (or Ptolemy), of

Lucca, he wrote the history of his times, starting from the pontificate of John XXII. In spite of Henry's connection with the papal court, his facts are trustworthy, and he is unprejudiced, especially in his estimate of Clement VI. and Innocent VI. But his work is more a collection of materials than a history. We are indebted to him, however, on account of his residence in the centrally located city of Constance, for our knowledge of otherwise unknown details. Moreover, he gives us a clear picture of the papal court at Avignon, where he spent some time. Henry, a monk of Rebdorf, near Eichstätt, continued the older chronicle from the election of Albert I. to 1313. Then he supplemented his papal history from 1288 to 1345 by an imperial one from 1314 to 1347, to which he again added a history of the papacy from 1342 to 1362, and a history of Charles IV. to 1369. Henry of Rebdorf gives us nothing but facts without comment; but he cannot conceal his imperial partisanship, and considers John XXII. the schismatic who was entirely guilty of causing all the trouble. His history of Charles IV. is marred by its jerky and anecdotal style.

The folk-songs of this period throw a flood of light on the party feeling of the times. Besides, there is a mass of political broadsides, in which the reign of Louis the Bavarian is perhaps richer than any other mediaeval period. They represent all the political tendencies of the time. The utter impracticability of the administration of the German state led Engelbert, abbot of Admont in Austria, at the end of Henry VII.'s reign, to discuss the origin, development, and end of the Roman imperial office (*imperium*). He prophesied its downfall, because it had been declining since the days of Augustus. The general opinion was, that the connection of the empire with the papacy had been baneful, and must consequently be dissolved. The school of the Monarchists propounded these theories. They were the zealous adherents of Louis the Bavarian, and opposed the doctrine of imperial omnipotence to that of papal. Their most prominent members were the Italian Marsilius of Padua, and his friend, Jean de Jandun. Together these wrote one of the most famous polemics of the Middle Ages, the *Defensor Pacis* ("Defender of the Peace"). Later Marsilius tried to disprove the claim of the pope, that he could freely grant the imperial title, by his broadside *De Translatione Imperii* ("On the Disposal of the Empire"). William of Occam, an Englishman who had studied at Paris under Duns Scotus, was a still more energetic supporter of Louis. While pro-

vincial of the English Minorites, he had fallen into disgrace at the papal court, but found refuge in Munich. In his eight tractates about the papal power, *Supra Potestate Summi Pontificis*, he maintained, as against the lax practices of the Avignonese court, the strict doctrine of apostolic poverty held by the Franciscans (*Fratres Minores*), and in this connection upheld the emperor's right of ecclesiastical supervision.

CHAPTER II.

THE FREEING OF GERMANY FROM THE PAPACY UNDER LOUIS THE BAVARIAN AND CHARLES IV.

(A.D. 1322-1378.)

NINE years the conflict had lasted which the fatal double election of October, 1313, had brought upon Germany. If the sympathies of the prosperous German towns had been with Louis the Bavarian (PLATE I.) from the first, his victory at Mühl-dorf (p. 332, Vol. IX.) seemed to have made his general recognition sure. Instead of that, however, the bitter struggle only really began. And now the French papacy joined in to secure the threatened position of the Anjous of Naples. For King Robert feared the renewed exercise of the imperial rights which Henry VII. had resuscitated. All his efforts, and those of his relatives, were aimed at crossing the imperial plans. The tool which they used was the papacy.

After the death of Clement V., in 1314, a hot dispute broke out among the cardinals. The Italians, who wished to return to Rome, together with the Gascons, were pitted against the Provençal cardinals, who favored the Anjous. The attempts of the French king to bring about a lawful yet favorable election were in vain. Finally, by half coercing the cardinals to remain together in Lyons, Philip V. succeeding in filling the papal chair to his advantage. For Jacques d'Euse of Cahors, who was elected pope as John XXII. in June, 1316, was not only a Frenchman by birth, but had been the chancellor of King Robert of Naples, and was bound to the house of Anjou. He had bought Avignon for the papacy from Naples. Without high intellectual gifts, he was a finished canonist, and as crafty as he was persevering. The knowledge of the disintegration of Germany prompted him to raise immoderate claims for the papacy.

The policy of John XXII. (1316-1334) toward the contestants for the German throne was entirely noncommittal at first. Calling both pretenders kings-elect, he did not in any case assume the power of arbitration. But in regard to Italy he took another view

PLATE I.



Emperor Louis the Bavarian.

A life-size relief in red sandstone, completed in 1313. It once stood on the battlements of the Merchants' Exchange, in Mayence. It represents the emperor in the full armor of a knight of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Preserved in the museum of Mayence. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)

of the matter. There he considered the empire in abeyance, and its representation as belonging to the pope. Consequently he attempted, in vain to be sure, to direct the administration of Italian affairs through his legates. With a view to excluding German interference, the pope made his recognition of Louis conditional on his distinct renunciation of Italy. But the Wittelsbach was not prepared for this. The battle of Mühldorf, in 1322, was disadvantageous to the papal and French policy. Louis now prepared to interfere in Italy. This was the signal for the pope to exercise his authority in favor of the Anjous. In October, 1323, the papal court instituted a process against Louis. It bade him to answer within three months with what right he called himself German king. The pope set up a new theory, according to which not only the imperial, but also the royal, office was in abeyance, and its representation fell to the pope. Accordingly no king could be instated

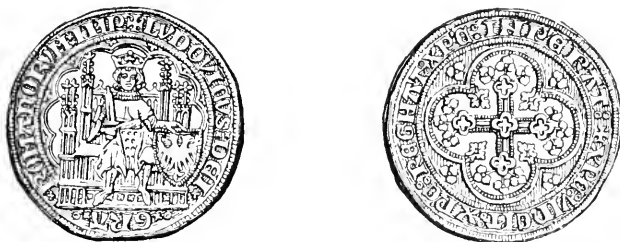


FIG. 1. — Gold coin of Louis the Bavarian. Obverse: † LVDOVICVS · DEI · GRA · ROMANORVM · IMP. Reverse: † XPC: (Χριστός) VINCIT: XPC. REGNAT: XPC: IMPERAT. The broken blade of the emperor's sword signifies humility before God. Original size. (Berlin.)

without his consent. But the papacy lacked the means to carry out this claim, which provoked a conflict in the interest of France, the extent of which was immeasurable. The step was a great mistake, in so far as it did not reckon with the evil results of a defeat or partial victory. The obvious servility of the papacy to the French court was in such a glaring contrast to its theories that its real motives could not long be concealed. It was precisely this which roused all the enemies of the ruling system within the church to renewed attack on the papacy. By resorting to very questionable means the latter completely undermined its tottering position.

But Louis was guilty of a like error in confusing the main point at issue with a number of unconnected points, so as to gain a following. But these only concealed and embarrassed the main question. The position of Louis (Fig. 1) was in part due to the fact that he

did not keep in touch with the questions of the times. He paid much more attention to his personal dynastic interests than to the execution of his professed royal and imperial rights. In fact, neither of the two men who stood for the principles at war was thoroughly convinced by them. They really only used them so as to reach, with the aid of the forces enlisted for the principles, secondary or unconnected aims.

The first answer of Louis to the papal summons was a solemn protest at a diet in Nuremberg, on December 18, 1323. He not only rejected and refuted the papal theory of the king's position, but also accused John XXII. of heresy, of which he was presumably guilty for having favored the Minorites. He thus made himself the mouthpiece of the parish clergy, though the matter was entirely secondary. But only a month later, at Sachsenhausen, Louis contradicted himself flatly. Here he protested against the pope's heresy because he had combated the Minorite doctrine of apostolic poverty. Thus he earned favor with that influential order, but again introduced an irrelevant issue. For it was connected with the main question at stake only in so far as the champions of the church reform, among other purely religious, moral, or financial points, also subjected the relation of church and state to a new and searching discussion. By doing this they made the cause of the German king their own, without his rising, however, to the purely theoretical standpoint, which was alone justifiable in this case. For while the struggle between Louis and John XXII. concerned exclusively German affairs, the question assumed a universal significance in the minds of the reform party. Consequently its members belonged chiefly to foreign nations. There was the Italian Marsilius Raimondini of Padua, who had fled from persecution in Paris to Munich. Together with Jean de Jandun, he had written the famous monarchistic pamphlet, *Defensor Pacis*. In opposition to the absolutism of the papacy, it held up the democratic monarchy, in which the highest power lies in the community. The clergy is merely its organ, the emperor its fully authorized representative. Consequently the emperor could depose the clergy, not excepting the pope. The *Defensor Pacis* further claimed that the emperor had the disposal of church property, and could alone grant the church such jurisdiction as it might exercise. William of Occam's tractate "On the Power of the Pope" was more closely connected with the doctrine of apostolic poverty. On the other hand, the general of the Fran-

eiscan Order, Michael of Cesena, carefully avoided its intermixture with the new political ideas. In any case, it was advantageous to Louis to have the great champions of the ideas of ecclesiastical reform fight on his behalf.

On hearing the king's protest made at Sachsenhausen, John XXII. excommunicated him on March 23, 1324. The real cause of the conflict appeared in the simultaneous excommunication of the Italian adherents of Louis. The pope even preached a crusade against Galeazzo of Milan. But his measures were unsuccessful. Unmindful of them, the German princes gave their consent to the transferral of the mark of Brandenburg, where the Askanieners had died out in 1320, to the king's oldest son. Besides, John's policy was not free from contradiction. Although he deposed Louis on July 11, 1324, he did not even mention the deposition in his refutation of the Sachsenhausen appeal, which he issued at the time. This is probably explained by the fact that the pope had taken to extreme measures only under the pressure of the Anjous and the French court. For the latter was just then straining every nerve to undermine the German king's position at home. The irreconcilable Leopold of Austria lent a willing hand. He had a personal meeting with Charles IV. of France, and promised to help him in getting the German crown on condition of favorable terms for the Hapsburgs. The pope was to confer the crown on the French king. This made Louis desire an understanding with Leopold's brother Frederick. In March, 1325, they met at Trausnitz castle, where Frederick was imprisoned. A verbal agreement was the result. It stipulated that Frederick should be released on recognizing Louis as king, and promising to move his brother to do homage and lay down his arms. If he failed Frederick was to return to captivity. Leopold's refusal made the treaty impracticable. Thereupon Frederick went back to prison. This did not fail to impress Louis, who was ready to settle with such an opponent, even at the price of greater concessions. In the beginning of September he made another treaty with Frederick at Munich. According to its terms they were to rule conjointly, so that they might oppose the papal claims together. For this purpose one of them was to go to Italy. At the pope's instigation, however, the electors refused their consent to this agreement. But the two principals found an escape from their dilemma in January, 1326. They determined at Ulm that Frederick was to rule in Germany, while both were to go to Italy to procure the imperial crown

for Louis. This scheme promised success; since the power of the Anjous was on the wane, and Louis had already been repeatedly invited to the south. Besides, the division of the rule seemed to insure that the Italian war would have no unfavorable results for Germany. But even the agreement of Ulm was not carried out, for Duke Leopold died in February, 1326. In the following year his brother Henry followed him, whereupon a struggle broke out between Frederick and his youngest brother. In consequence King Frederick withdrew discouraged, in 1330, and gave up all participation in state affairs. On the other hand, the leaders of the church-reform party placed great hopes on the Roman expedition of Louis. It seemed to point towards a realization of their programme. However, this very expedition showed the vagueness of the king's policy, which aimed at the union of absolutely antagonistic elements and powers.

In February, 1327, Louis assembled a diet at Trent to take counsel with the Ghibellines about his Italian expedition. Thereafter he wished to discuss the administration of the realm with the princes at Nuremberg. But the Ghibelline rulers and town representatives, by representing the urgent need of immediate assistance, induced Louis to set out immediately, regardless of lack of the most necessary preparations. On March 14 he actually started as if he were going to the chase, with only a few German knights; and at first everything went remarkably well. The pope's enemies arose everywhere. In Rome, under Sciarra Colonna, they drove the papal and Anjou party out of the city. Now Louis was sure of a friendly reception in Lombardy. While the papal court brought a new suit against the king in April, 1327, which deprived him of Bavaria, freed his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and denounced him as a heretic, Louis received the Italian crown in Milan on May 31 (Fig. 2). He stopped the intrigues of the unreliable Visconti by imprisoning Galeazzo and his brothers, and setting aside the fawning Marco. Then he hastened southward, subjugating Pisa, and allying himself with Frederick of Aragon, king of Sicily. On January 7, 1328, the German king entered the Eternal City amidst joyous acclamation. After a bull of October 22, 1327, had stripped 'the Bavarian' of all his possessions and honors, John XXII. continued to hurl penal mandates at the king in impotent rage.

To preserve the customary formalities of the imperial coronation was of course out of the question under the existing circumstances.

The prevalent doctrines of popular sovereignty laid the disposal of the crown in the hands of the people. In its name Sciarra Colonna crowned Louis emperor on January 17, 1328, with the assistance of only two syndics. Such a proceeding was absolutely devoid of all legal foundation.¹ It was an act which could only be secured by future ones, and be justified by success. Great deeds alone could



FIG. 2. — Relief from the tomb of Bishop Tarlati in the cathedral at Arezzo. Represents the coronation of Louis the Bavarian, in 1327, as king of Italy, by the bishop of Arezzo, Guido Tarlati of Pietramala, in the church of St. Ambrose, Milan. Here are represented Louis, his wife, armed soldiers, the heralds, ecclesiastics. The two crowns are said to be those preserved at Monza, namely, the iron crown and the crown of Theodelinde. The artist, however, does not represent these. This tomb was made by Agostino and Angelo of Siena.

give life to this new imperial office by the grace of the people; but these were not forthcoming. Instead of crushing the Anjou, and thus opening a way for an understanding with the papal court, Louis remained idle in Rome for the next three months. Meanwhile he

¹ Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," pp. 298 f., takes the opposite view. According to this, the imperial office could be conferred, theoretically at least, only by the Roman people, or by some authority to which they delegated the right, as by a legal fiction they were supposed to have done to the College of electors. — Ed.

tried, with the aid of the sovereign Roman people, to re-establish order in church and state by great legislative acts. Thus the meeting of the Roman people at the Capitol adopted three laws on April 14, 1328. They were not passed for their own sakes, but only to serve for further attacks on the papacy. The first transferred the final judgment of heretics to the temporal courts, which Frederick II. had already placed at the service of the church in such matters. But now the church of the Minorites stepped into the place of the papal one. The second decree inflicted forfeiture on all those who had rebelled against the emperor and empire. In pursuance of these laws John XXII. was deposed on April 18, 1328, on the charge of heresy and high treason. Another law was promulgated which bound the pope to reside in Rome. Finally, on May 12, at the emperor's recommendation, the Roman people raised a Minorite, Peter of Corbara, to the papal throne. He took the style of Nicholas V. On May 22 Louis put the tiara on his head, and in return was once more crowned emperor.

The doctrines which Marsilius of Padua and Jean de Jandun had preached were literally realized. A revolution had overthrown the political and ecclesiastical organism of the Middle Ages, and substituted the ideals of the Monarchists. But Louis had attained nothing in his quality of German king, nor had he attempted to fulfil his office. To make matters worse, the bitterest reaction immediately set in in Rome. Now the shifting sovereign mob placed its sovereignty and legislative power as freely at the disposal of the opposition as it formerly had intrusted it to Louis and the monarchists. The Minorites also objected to the Roman decrees of the emperor. In Pisa, William of Occam and Michael of Cesena brought it about in the autumn of 1328 that the resolutions against the pope were adopted and repeated, but only on dogmatic grounds. Thus the Minorites and the Monarchists struggled for supremacy. Again the extreme party triumphed. In January, 1329, Nicholas V. excommunicated John XXII. and his adherents. A popular assembly summoned by the extreme party burned John in effigy as a heretic. Such excesses hurt the cause of Louis in the eyes of the moderates, and justified the renewed interference of John XXII. The papal court again cursed the emperor in the most passionate terms, and offered King Philip VI. of France the German crown, which he, however, declined. Meanwhile Louis tried in vain to force the recalcitrant Visconti to submission by besieging Milan; but he had to raise the siege and hasten to Bavaria.

His unsuccessful Italian expedition naturally reacted unfavorably on the position of King Louis in Germany. Only the disunion of his enemies saved him from an immediate catastrophe. The ambitious and restless Luxemburg, John of Bohemia (Fig. 3), was especially intriguing against the king. On the pretext of wishing to mediate between Louis and the papal court, he allied himself to the Hapsburgs. By marrying his son, John Henry, to Margaret, the heiress of Henry of Carinthia, he not only set aside the latter's claims to the Bohemian throne, but also paved the way for the acquisition of Carinthia and the Tyrol by his house. He even played



FIG. 3. — Seal of King John of Bohemia. Original size. (Berlin.)

the rôle of a future anti-king, and went to Italy to enlist the enemies of Louis. But his plans fell to the ground, when Louis finally came to an understanding with the Hapsburgs. To avoid future struggles, Carinthia was to fall to the share of the house of Hapsburg, and the Tyrol to that of the house of Wittelsbach. Taken by surprise at this change of affairs, King John returned from Italy, and had a meeting with the emperor which was to seal the peace between them. But he continued to intrigue against the king, and to take every advantage.

A kind of armistice in the papal conflict ensued. The decision had to come from another quarter. Nevertheless, the effects of the struggle lay heavily on Louis. Again and again he sought a reconciliation, although the situation was favorable since his compact with the Hapsburgs. Even if Louis could not count on the majority of the German princes, he was sure of the support of the cities. Moreover, all the German bishoprics, except Cologne, Strasburg, and Freising, stood by the king. A prince of foresight and courage would have used the favorable opportunity, and defended the rights of Germany against Avignon without regard to his personal advantage. But that was not Louis's way. He played into the hands of his enemy by showing his willingness to make discreditable concessions for the sake of peace. The king, in fact, came to an agreement with the pope, in November, 1333, according to which Louis, on condition of being absolved, abdicated the crown in favor of his cousin Henry, duke of Lower Bavaria. Thereupon the latter made a treaty with the papal court, by which he mortgaged the former kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy, to John XXII., for 500,000 gold pieces, which the mediation of France between Louis and the pope was supposed to have cost. The general disgust at this compact hindered its execution, to be sure; and Louis, assured of every kind of help from the German cities, retracted his promise of abdication. But now the Anjous of Naples protested against the bearing of the imperial title by the German king. Thereupon John XXII. issued a bull, in the summer of 1334, which definitely separated Italy from every connection with the empire and the German kingdom. The pope promised Philip VI. compensation for the loss of Arles by reserving the settlement of the boundary between France and Germany. If the subserviency of the papacy to French interests continued, the political balance would soon be shifted, and France exercise unbounded tyranny. But the papal court itself shrank back from such a prospect. So when John XXII. died, in December, 1334, his successor, Benedict XII., forthwith opened negotiations with Louis. These, however, were soon crossed again by France.

Louis cannot be acquitted of the charge of short-sightedness and cowardice during his struggle with the papacy. When we stop to think that just at that time the Franco-English Hundred Years' War was preparing, there can be no doubt as to the policy which Louis ought to have pursued. An English alliance promised the best safeguard against France and the papacy. Instead of taking

this step, the German emperor, in his anxiety to be absolved from the ban, tried to win over Philip VI. to prevail on Benedict XII. to remove the excommunication from him. Even after he had made an English alliance at Frankfort, in July, 1337, Louis did not stop negotiating with the pope, hoping rather to find a better reception. But the princes and the kingdom looked at the matter in a different light. The nation finally arose for the energetic defence of its violated rights. Henry of Virneburg, archbishop of Mayence, led the movement. He supported it, not only for the sake of the cause, but to use it in his personal quarrel with the pope and his colleague at Treves. At his instigation, the German bishops met at Spire, in March, 1338. The emperor came in person, and informed the assemblage of the steps he had taken toward a reunion with the church. Even now, he declared, he was prepared to submit to the church, if it would only make conditions consistent with his honor. The bishops undertook to mediate at Avignon. Of course Benedict XII. declined. The church and France did not wish for peace.

The leaders of the movement had foreseen its result, and already decided on counter-measures. All of the electors, except John of Bohemia, met at Oberlahnstein, on July 15, 1338. They swore solemnly to maintain the threatened honor and rights of the empire. On the following day they reassembled near the neighboring town of Rense, where other spiritual and temporal princes joined them. There they first ratified the resolutions of the previous day; and the assembly declared that the transactions concerned none other than the Emperor Louis (Figs. 4, 5), whom they had agreed to protect in his rights and dignity. The electors thought the time had come to establish distinctly the old usage of the realm, and formulate clearly the constitutional principles involved as against the new papal theories. They laid down no new law, but proposed only to restate the old law of the realm. A distinction was made between the kingdom and empire only in regard to the title connected with it. The electors did not claim the right to confer the imperial title, as this was immemorially bound up with the pope's right to crown the emperor. But the princes considered this coronation only a formality which conferred no new rights on the crowned. Rather did the legally elected head of the kingdom, on the strength of the ancient connection between Germany and the empire, receive the imperial rights with the rights of royal rule. But on this point the emperor differed from the electors, which led to a split in the later

proceedings; for Louis was displeased at seeing his over-hasty Roman decrees tacitly surrendered as illegal. Consequently he tried to move the electors, at a diet in Frankfort, in August, 1338, to alter their resolution with regard to this point. Once more he related all he had done to make his peace with the church. They unanimously declared him guiltless of the continuance of the conflict. But the electors dismissed the emperor's amendment of the Rense resolutions, to the effect that the royal election as such conferred the



FIG. 4. — Obverse and reverse of the Golden Bulla of Louis the Bavarian. Attached to a charter of doubtful authenticity, dated 1337, which grants Lithuania to the Teutonic Order. (Berlin.) On the reverse is an interesting representation of Rome; in the middle, the Colosseum; at its right, the Arch of Titus; above the latter, the Pyramid of Sestius, near which, on the left, is the Porto S. Paolo. At the left of the Colosseum, and in part behind it, the Lateran; and behind the Lateran the Porta S. Giovanni. In front of the Colosseum, the Capitol, Pantheon; lower left edge, the mausoleum of Augustus and Trajan's column; in front of the mausoleum of Augustus, the Porta del Popolo. Across the Tiber, lower right edge, the mausoleum of Hadrian, St. Peter's, and St. Cecilia's. Obverse: † LVDOVICVS · QVARTVS · DEI · GRACIA · ROMANORVM · IMPERATOR · SEMPER · AVGVSTVS. Reverse: † ROMA · CAPVT · MVNDI · REGIT · ORBIS · FRENA · ROTVNDI. †

imperial title on the king-elect. The position of the electors was entirely right: for the strength of their position lay in their standing firmly on the ground of historical national law, and carefully avoiding all troublesome encroachments. Public opinion was in their favor. A canon of Würzburg, Leopold von Bebenburg, was the public mouthpiece. He was a jurist trained at Bologna, and developed his ideas in his work, *De Jure Regni et Imperii*. The author distinctly separates the often-confused powers, the kingdom and the empire. To the empire, an honor of Roman origin, and conferable,



Ir Ludweich von gotes ·
 genaden · Märgt · graf ze
 Brandenburch wir stephā
 wir ludweich wir wilhalm
 von gotes gnaden pfälzer
 graven bei dem rein vnd
 hertzogen in Bayern habe
 an gesehen den bresten den
 wir gehabt haben in vnser
 land ze Bayern an dem
 rechten · vnd da uo sein
 wir ze rat worde mit vn

serm hū vn vaterin keiser ludweigen von Rom setzen
 vnd bestatigen wir alles daz h nach geschriben stet nach
 seinem gebot vnd gehairz vnserm land ze Bayern ze
 fiderung · vn ze besundn gnaden · Daz ist geschehen do
 man zalt von christus gepurt dreuzehen hundert iar
 vnd dar nach in dem sechsten vnd uierzigsten iar des
 nachsten samptztags nach dem obersten Da von gepietē
 wir bei vnsern hulden allen vnsern richtern vn amptlawre
 in vnserm land ze Bayern vber al in steten in o · sagte
 vn auf dem land daz si die sellen recht also halten bey ir
 ayd den si vns dar vmb od vnser vitzum swin muessen
 vnd daz si dar nach von wort ze wort von stuck ze stuck
 armen vn reichen vngewarlich richten sullen

Titulus primus de iudiciis et quibusdam annis

Daz man nieman noten sol ze dhemer dylage ·

Daz ist daz recht puch also ganz alt gepetzt vn auch
 new artickel gestimment aus allen gerichtten stete
 vnd mairgen nach der keyse geheizen Des ersten setzen
 wir vnd gepieten vrschlichen daz thein richt noch amptmā

FIG. 5. — First page of the oldest manuscript of the laws of Emperor Louis the Bavarian, 1346. (Preserved in the Royal Library at Munich.)

not by the pope, but by a special election he opposed the kingdom as a national German one.

In September, 1338, Louis met with Edward III. of England, at Coblenz. They made an alliance which bound Louis to aid Edward with arms against France, in return for subsidies. The emperor's decided policy had a good effect. John of Bohemia thought it best to make peace with him. Thus, in any event, Louis was safe in his rear. Even now, however, he was not in earnest, but carried on his negotiations with the papal court. Above all, he utilized his favorable position to enlarge his family possessions in such a manner as to estrange even his followers. At the extinction of the dual house of Lower Bavaria, in 1340, the emperor took possession of it, regardless of the well-grounded claims of the Rhenish palatinate. His attempt to secure the succession in Carinthia for his house was much more objectionable. He dissolved the marriage of Margaret, the heiress of Henry of Carinthia, with John Henry, son of King John of Bohemia, although the pope had refused to grant a divorce. In 1342 he nevertheless married his son, Louis of Brandenburg, to Margaret, called Maultasch, after one of her castles. The emperor's rash action immediately broke his friendly relations with the house of Luxemburg. Besides, the Hapsburgs again went over to the opposition because Louis had annulled his former compact for the partition of Carinthia by this marriage. The emperor's foolish policy is comprehensible only on the assumption that he still hoped for complete salvation from the papal court. All the time he was negotiating with the successor of Benedict, Clement VI. (1342-1352). At the price of surrendering the declarations of Oberlahnstein and Rense, and his own further-reaching Frankfort programme, Louis was prepared to give up the empire if the church would only recognize him as king. In view of such faintheartedness, the church of course increased its demands. It bade Louis to renounce Italy definitely. All laws were henceforth to have force only by the pope's consent. Should Louis violate this compact, the princes of the realm were to assist the pope in enforcing it. Naturally these terms were unacceptable, and the princes turned away from the incapable king.

Louis even estranged England, when, in 1345, he tried to give force to the hereditary claims of his queen on Holland against Edward III. Finally he stood almost alone, and became an easy prey to the papal court. In April, 1346, Clement VI. again ex-

communicated Louis, declaring him dishonored and outlawed, and directed the electors to have a new royal election. Now the ambitious Luxemburgs saw their chance to aggrandize their house. In July, 1346, the youngest son of the king of Bohemia, Charles of Moravia, was elected German king by the three spiritual electors and by Bohemia and Saxe-Wittenberg. Here was a new 'priest's king,' who readily renounced Italy. He promised to leave it forever, directly after his imperial coronation. He even left the Franco-German boundary question to the arbitration of the pope, thus indirectly surrendering the kingdom of Arles to France. Moreover, he confirmed all the grants made to the papacy by his predecessors, and agreed to the cancellation of all the decrees of Louis. At first Charles's overtures promised little success, for his electors did not intend to fight for his recognition. France, whither John of Bohemia hurried with Charles, was now severely threatened by Edward III. The king of Bohemia fell at Crécy; and Charles had to return to Germany, where the son of Louis, Duke Stephen of Bavaria, had meanwhile triumphed over the Rhenish archbishop electors. Even the Tyrol held out against the attacks of Charles. His prospects were scarcely favorable when the sudden death of Louis (Fig. 6), on October 11, 1347, insured him general recognition.

To be sure, the house of Wittelsbach did not give up its cause as yet. Its adherents wished to make Edward III. of England king of Germany. But the English Parliament was not willing to enter into such far-reaching but futile schemes, and then Edward himself had fallen out with the Wittelsbachs on account of their rival claims on Holland. Thus Charles easily averted the danger from this quarter. But the Wittelsbach party itself offered him a favorable opportunity for a very effective attack. For Louis of Brandenburg, son of Louis the Bavarian, had caused general discontent by his misrule in his mark. Consequently the division of the north-eastern marks among the neighboring princes gave Charles IV. the best chance of strengthening his following. In November, 1347, he gave the Altmark in fee to Duke Rudolf I. of Saxony. About the same time a wonderful but generally acceptable rumor ran through the country. It was said that Waldemar, the last great member of the house of Askanien, whose death had been mourned since 1319, was alive, and was returning from Palestine to restore peace to his land. The improbable story gained credence, because, among other things, the dukes of Saxony and Anhalt had recognized the

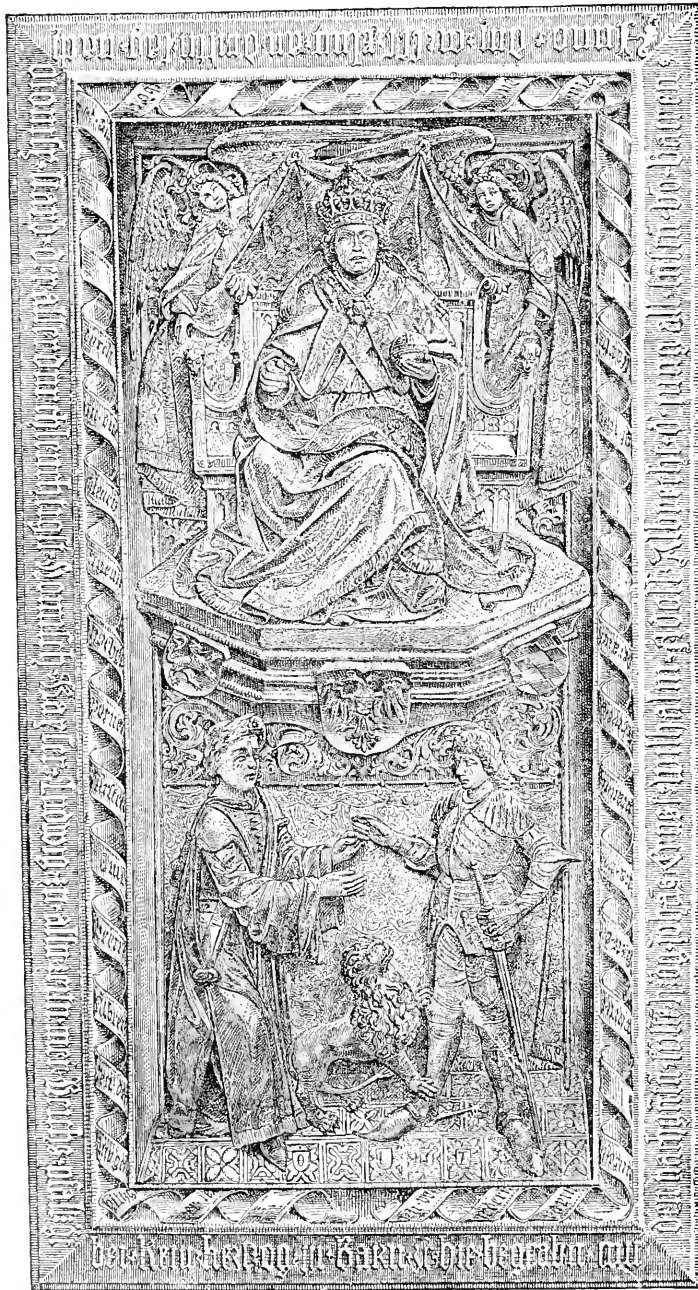


FIG. 6. — Monument of Emperor Louis the Bavarian, in the church of the Virgin Mary, Munich. Made of red marble, about 1470. In the lower field Duke Ernest, in house-dress, and his son, Duke Albert III.

real Waldemar in the returning pilgrim. When he appeared in the mark of Brandenburg, he found general acceptance. Charles IV., too, did not dispute his genuineness, and enfeoffed him in October, 1348, with the mark. The king excluded the mark of Lusatia, which he joined to Bohemia. On the death of the aged Waldemar, his territory was to fall to the dukes of Saxony and the side line of Anhalt. We can hardly assume that they and Charles IV. really believed in the genuineness of their protégé. Charles IV. left the adventurer to his fate as soon as he, the king, had obtained his end. This he reached as soon as he had overthrown the opposition of the Wittelsbach party, and was recognized by it. The party had lost the marks, with the exception of a few strongholds, when they tried to retrieve their fortunes by electing an anti-king. Count Günther von Schwarzburg, an honorable but powerless knight, was to try his luck as their representative, but played only a sorry part, as he found no support. The pope excommunicated him. Even the staunch count palatine of the Rhine deserted his party when Charles IV. took his daughter for his second queen. The anti-king soon found himself helplessly enclosed in Eltville on the Rhine. Then the Wittelsbachs opened negotiations with King Charles, who readily acceded. He left the mark of Brandenburg in their possession, and promised to effect their release from the papal ban. Günther von Schwarzburg (Fig. 7) abdicated, and was glad to have the debts which his office had cost him transferred to the wealthy king. Louis, to be sure, still had to wrest the mark of Brandenburg from the pseudo-Waldemar. He finally succeeded in doing so with the aid of Waldemar IV. of Denmark. To give the rule of the house of Wittelsbach legal sanction, the affair of the pseudo-Waldemar was once more investigated under the presidency of Count Rupert of the Rhenish palatinate. The court decided that the genuineness of the pretender had not been proved, consequently the king should enfeoff Margrave Louis with the land which had been illegally withdrawn from him. The execution of this arrangement at a diet in Nuremberg in 1350, ended the conflict for the German throne which had begun in 1314. The house of Anhalt honorably sustained the pseudo-Waldemar until his death, a fact which further proved his genuineness to many.

Charles was indebted for his recognition to his diplomatic skill, which remained the most effective agency during his reign. Charles IV. was too clever to attempt to oppose the current of events by

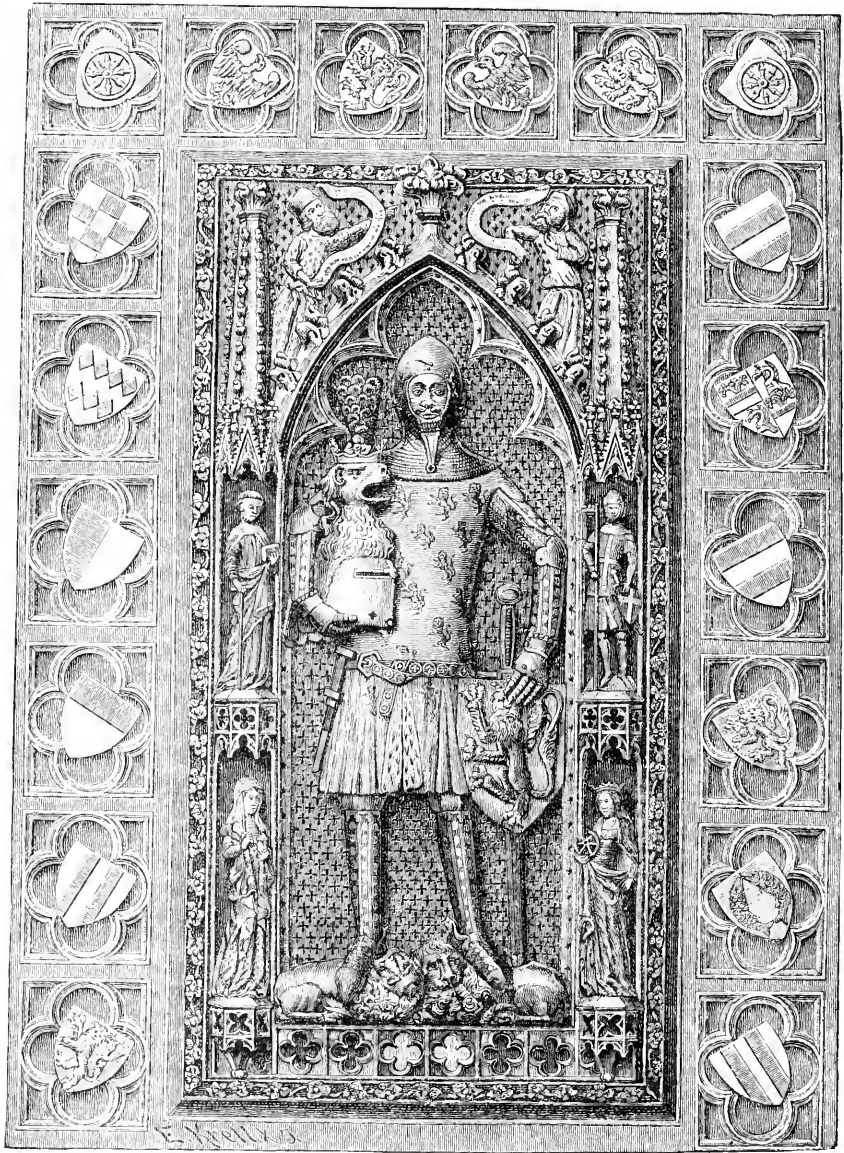


FIG. 7. — Tomb of Günther von Schwarzburg in the cathedral of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Made of red sandstone, painted and gilded. Restored in 1856.

political combinations without prospects of success. The suavity and flexibility of his character made it possible for him to secure all that his predecessor had won in his contest with the Avignonese papacy, so that, although he began his reign as a 'priest's king,' he

completed the emancipation of the German state from its ecclesiastical tutelage. His policy implied the condemnation of that of Louis, who had not understood how to use a great national movement, but had deserted it to further his own advantage. And yet, in comparison with him, Charles IV. was really always a stranger to the German people. From his seventh year he had been trained at the French court. At the age of fifteen his father had sent him as vicar-general to Italy, where he had proved himself a statesman and



FIG. 8. — Judicial seal of Emperor Charles IV. Original size. Legend: † SIGILLVM [m] · IVDICIS · CVRIE · KAROLI · QVARTI · DIVINA · FAVENTE · CLEMENCIA · ROMANOR' IMPERATORIS · SEMPER · AVGVSTI · ET · BOEMIE · REGIS. (Berlin, Royal Privy Archives.)

general amid very confused and difficult conditions. Also, he had an unusually good education. He spoke five languages, had a thorough theological, legal, and historical knowledge, and a lively interest in art and science. He was the patron of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Beneath his Italian culture, Charles IV. (Fig. 8) had a mixture of the Bohemian and the French natures, but little of the German. Charles IV. is the first of the royal representatives of that international culture of which the Renaissance later brought forth so

many. His cosmopolitan spirit explains the rule of Charles, which entirely lacked the German trait that had marked the government of Louis at its best.

Charles IV. devoted himself with tender solicitude to the welfare of Bohemia, interfering in Germany only when he could win something for his house. He improved especially the constitution of Bohemia at the expense of the empire. This was the chief object of the Golden Bull for Bohemia, which the emperor issued on the day of his imperial coronation, April 5, 1355. It made over to himself and his successors all those rights which later gave the German electors

a privileged position. The administration of the Bohemian crown domains was ordered in a masterly way. The judiciary was improved, trade and industry were developed through the introduction of German settlers, science and art were successfully cultivated. Charles founded a university in his capital, Prague, which was the first in the empire (Fig. 9). For Germany he did nothing, though that country sorely needed attention. A terrible pestilence, the so-called Black Death, coming



FIG. 9. — Seal of the University of Prague, founded 1348. Emperor Charles IV. kneeling before St. Wenceslaus, patron saint of the university, and handing him its charter.

from the Levant by way of Genoa, made frightful ravages in Germany. Even if the number of its victims was greatly exaggerated, after proper reductions, the fact will still remain that there was a tremendous loss of life, which must have considerably reduced the population of Europe. Under the influence of this scourge the excited peasants gave way to fanatical religious exercises. The people thought that the pestilence was due to nefarious instigation, and often accused the despised Jews of having caused it by poisoning wells. In consequence they were terribly persecuted.

During such ravages Charles IV. pursued undisturbed the welfare of Bohemia (Fig. 10) and the enhancement of his family power. To increase his authority in the realm, he strove after the acquisition

of the imperial title. The politic king was not allured by any chimerical projects, nor did Italy offer great inducements. In the south the house of Anjou had entirely degenerated. The mock rule of the distant pope had been put an end to in Rome. The notary Cola di Rienzi had called into life a caricature of the old Roman constitution, which was as incompatible with the authority of the emperor as with that of the pope. In Lombardy the Visconti of Milan had won a supremacy which the Venetians and Veronese

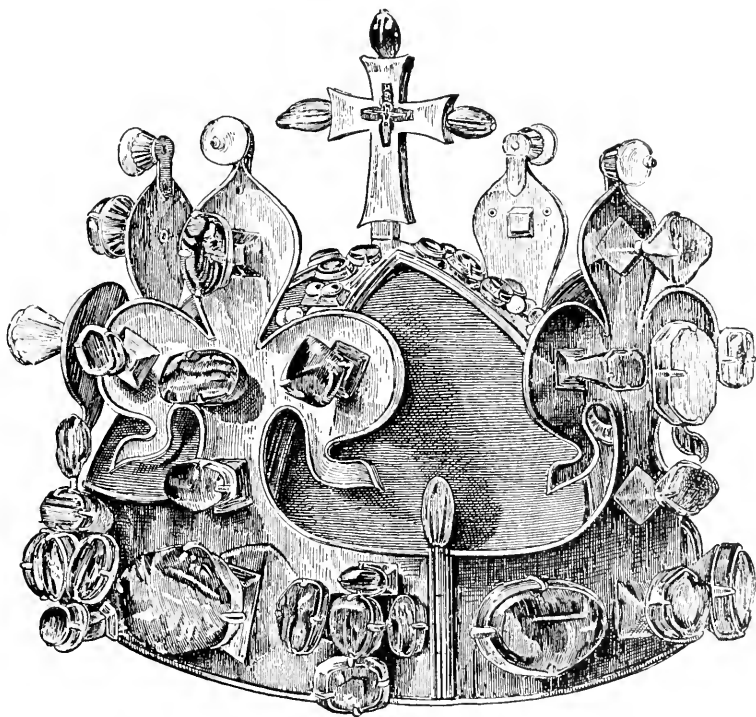


FIG. 10. — Royal crown of Bohemia. Made at Charles IV.'s order in 1387.

sought to destroy by turning for help to Charles. Their suspicions of his honest intentions vanished when he appeared with only 300 knights late in 1354 to act merely as mediator between the contestants. He left the Visconti unscathed. Indeed, he not only increased but legitimized their rule by giving them the vicariate of the empire. By means of this pacification, the king soon won other successes. In January, 1355, he was crowned king of Italy, in Milan. Then he proceeded by way of Pisa to Rome, where, according to agreement with the pope, he was crowned emperor on April 5 by

the cardinals, who represented the pope. True to his word, he left the city immediately. On his northward march he gained a victory

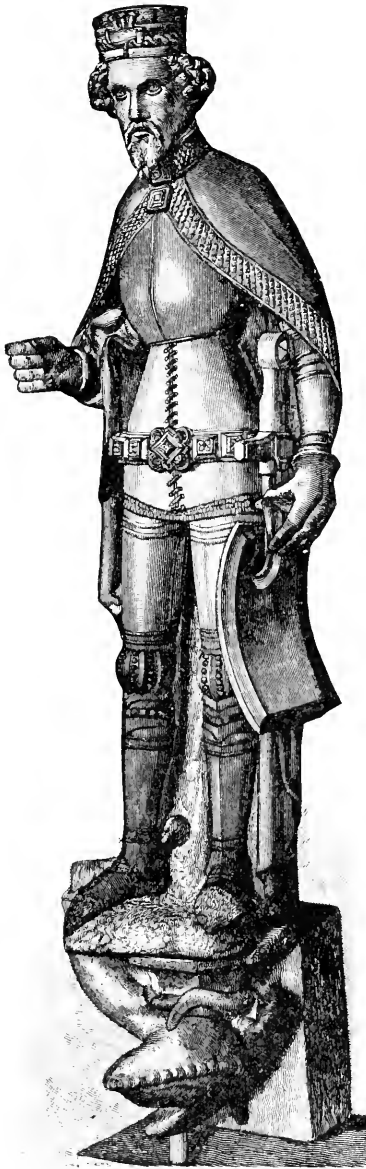


FIG. 11. — Statue of Emperor Charles IV. (Berlin, Royal Museum.)

over the revolted Pisans, but could not follow up his successes. On the whole, Charles owed much to his diplomatic skill, for many cities paid him tribute as emperor. Moreover, the imperial title had a moral effect in Germany, which enabled him henceforth to influence its affairs more decidedly. And that had been the exact object of his Roman expedition. After his return to Germany, the emperor immediately took up his contemplated improvement of the imperial constitution. Primarily, however, he kept the interest of his house in view. His object was to secure the electoral vote for Bohemia unconditionally, and to win for it the first place in the empire. A better and stricter regulation of the royal election completed his programme. It was set up in the Golden Bull, a law which, according to its form, appears to have emanated from the legislative prerogative of the emperor. But in reality it represented a compromise effected by the emperor between rival claims. Charles (Fig. 11), had already issued a Golden Bull for Bohemia. It granted the king of Bohemia, as a prince of the empire, the *jus de non evocando*: i.e., the privilege that none of his subjects could be summoned before any court outside of his kingdom.

It also gave him the supplementary *jus de non appellando*, or the inhibition of appeals to any other court, not excepting the im-

perial one. Besides, the Bull conferred on him the privileges of the mint, of levying the tax on Jews, and of exclusive mining. These were all imperial rights. After his return from Rome, Charles IV. negotiated at first with Duke Rudolf of Saxe-Wittenberg at Prague in 1355. At a diet which sat at Nuremberg from November, 1355, to January 6, 1356, an agreement was reached on the main points in discussion. In all there were five separate constitutions which together composed the statute of the empire known as the Golden Bull. The definitive settlements seem to have been made entirely between the emperor and the electors. The other princes probably only gave their consent, while the other estates were not asked at all. It seems that the difficult question as to the electoral votes was decided first. For the only unchallenged ones were those of the three archbishops and that of the king of Bohemia. In regard to the others, the question arose whether they went with the family or the land. That is, was the vote to belong to the oldest line in case of the branching off of a house, regardless of its territorial possessions, or to the younger line provided it held the electorate (*Kurland*)? Although Rupert of the Palatinate, Rudolf of Saxony, and Louis of Brandenburg all acted and signed as electors at the diet of Nuremberg, their electoral vote was expressly confirmed to them by the diet. Moreover, the emperor had even the Bohemian vote clearly recognized by the written statements (*Willebriefe*) of the electors. On January 10, 1356, the result of these proceedings was solemnly announced in five constitutions. But in the same year another diet met in Metz to make several desirable changes in the Bull, and to draw up rules for the royal coronation ceremony. In its modified form the statute met the approval of the electors on December 11, 1356, and was proclaimed with great pomp on Christmas Day. On this occasion the very detailed coronation ceremony was applied for the first time. Charles had given zealous attention to its minute regulation, as if to make up by pomp what the German state had lost in real power. Notwithstanding, the importance of the Bull must not be underestimated. For if it did not introduce a new principle into the German constitution, it at least secured the recognition and binding force of the historical usage for the future. Moreover, it settled important disputed points. In so far as the Bull summed up the previous constitutional development of the empire, it had the significance of a fundamental law. It was a matter of great importance that it went directly back to the resolution of Oberlahnstein and the agreement

of the electors at Rense, and laid down the principle that the college of electors had the exclusive privilege of disposing of the German crown. Thus it gave unwitting expression to the national anti-papal movement, and fixed by law the urgent emancipation of the crown from the Roman papacy. In this way Germany entered into the agitation which seized the Romance and Germanic peoples at the time, and took a step toward forming a national state.

From this point of view the formal regulations of the Golden Bull about the royal election take on great significance. The privilege of the electors, according to it, rests on their quality of imperial officials. On the other hand, there is no instruction about the person of the future king-elect, save that he be "just, good, and able." The confirmation of the pope is left entirely out of the question. The electors receive much fuller mention. The document calls them the "pillars" of the state. For their territories they are to possess the so-called regalian rights of the king in the same measure as Charles IV. exercised them in Bohemia and his inherited domains, in virtue of the Bohemian Golden Bull. They are also to have the *jus de non evocando* and the *jus de non appellando* (see p. 44). Their electorates are to be indivisible, and to descend to the oldest male heir. Their influence is greatly extended by the clause which confers the right of discussing the affairs of the empire annually with the king for four weeks after Easter. The Electoral College thus became an organ of the central power as the representative of the federation of the imperial estates. The monarchy was completely changed into an aristocratic republic. It was natural that the electors should abuse their power and the lower nobility strive to emulate it. The result was the increasing disintegration of the empire, and the continuous lessening of the freedom of the towns; the more so, as the Golden Bull had revived the old restrictions on alien citizenship and on confederation.

Charles IV. was not concerned in the good or bad effects of the Golden Bull. His personal interests overshadowed everything else. In the untiring pursuit of increasing his family power, not only his diplomatic skill and his luck, but also the blindness of his enemies stood in good stead. The peace which he had made with the house of Wittelsbach, in 1350, had not rooted out the old animosity. In alliance with the Hapsburgs, they soon renewed their opposition against the emperor. Count Eberhard of Württemberg and other princes, whose influence the Golden Bull had diminished, joined the

Wittelsbach party. They considered the elevation of an anti-king in 1359. Charles broke up the league of the princes. Presently he drew the Hapsburgs to his side by granting them a part of their demands, while he still further curtailed the powers of the house of Wittelsbach. In 1363 he left the Tyrol to the former, and made a family compact with them at Brünn. They pledged the mutual security of the succession in their rich possessions in case of the extinction of either family. The opposition of Louis of Brandenburg and his brother Otto to their brother, Stephen of Lower Bavaria, prompted them to promise Charles the succession in the mark of Brandenburg, in case of their death without male issue. Otto, who succeeded his brother in 1365, married Charles's daughter, Catharine, the widow of Rudolf IV. of Saxony. A stranger in the land, indolent and indifferent, Otto was finally prevailed upon by his father-in-law to make the treaty of Fürstenwalde. Otto gave up to the emperor the mark of Brandenburg for a sum of money, the grant of several places in the Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, and the retention of the electoral title. In 1374 the estates consented to the union of the mark and Bohemia. The transferral proved a blessing to the country, at any rate; for Charles devoted his accustomed care to the new acquisition.

The family power of the house of Luxemburg had developed beyond all expectations, and bade fair to lend the empire its long-forgotten unity and strength. Its roots were in Bohemia, which was in the full bloom of economic and intellectual growth. The city of Prague seemed about to surpass most of the famous German towns. The Bavarian palatinate and the margraviate of Moravia were united with Bohemia. By his third marriage, with the countess of Schweidnitz and Jauer, Charles had added a part of Silesia. To the north the Bohemian king's possessions stretched through Lusatia and the mark of Brandenburg to the lands on the Baltic. The so-called "Bohemian Islands" formed western outposts for the further extension of Luxemburg power. Diagonally across Germany, from Bohemia to his native land of Luxemburg, the king had acquired sporadic enclaves by sale or exchange. These had been gradually rounded off, and bade fair to form another vast territory there. Charles had already increased his old half-French possessions by the addition of a part of the Netherlands, which his brother had got by marriage.

In view of such vast possessions it seemed to Charles that the

imperial dignity might be raised to new significance. But for this he required the help of the church, and a greater influence in Italy. The latter was much desired. At the command of Innocent VI. (1352-1362), Cardinal Albornoz had succeeded, to be sure, in restoring the temporal sovereignty of the distant pope in the form of a military despotism. But Urban V. (1362-1370) was severely endangered by the growing power of the Visconti of Milan (Fig. 12), after the Romans and Charles IV. had induced him to return to Rome. He found the city in a hopeless condition of degradation and barbarity. Moreover, the pope was threatened by the simulta-

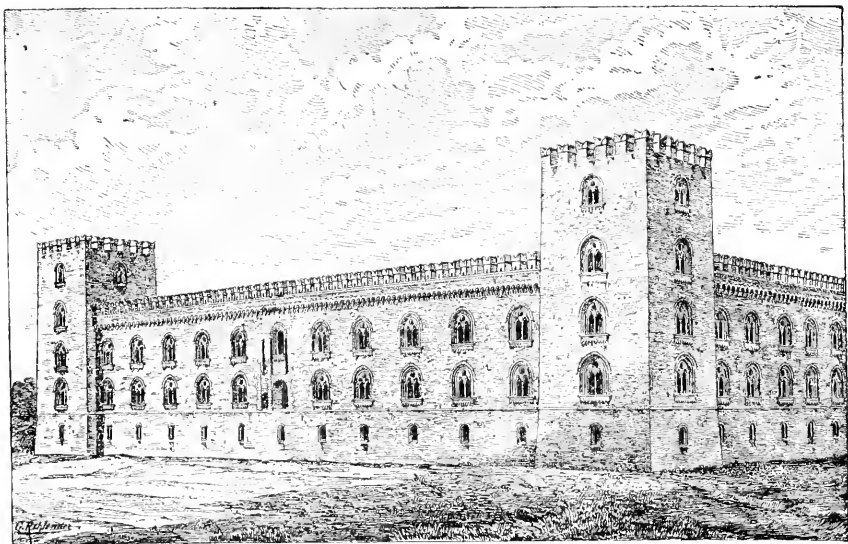


FIG. 12. — Palace of the Visconti in Pavia; reconstruction. (From Gailhabaud.)

neous opposition of the emperor to France. Charles IV. wished to utilize the internal difficulties of Charles V. of France to reconquer Burgundy. Accordingly he had himself crowned king at Arles in 1365. But he did not make another expedition to Italy before 1368. A league had been formed against the Visconti. Both parties sued Charles for support. Charles again decided to mediate, although he had received such great re-enforcements from the league that he might have attacked the Visconti with success. But instead of crushing them, as the league had hoped, the emperor confirmed them in their possessions. In return he received the promise of 1000 men at his appearance in Italy, and of the cessation of hostility to the Papal States. After a considerable visit to Rome, he returned

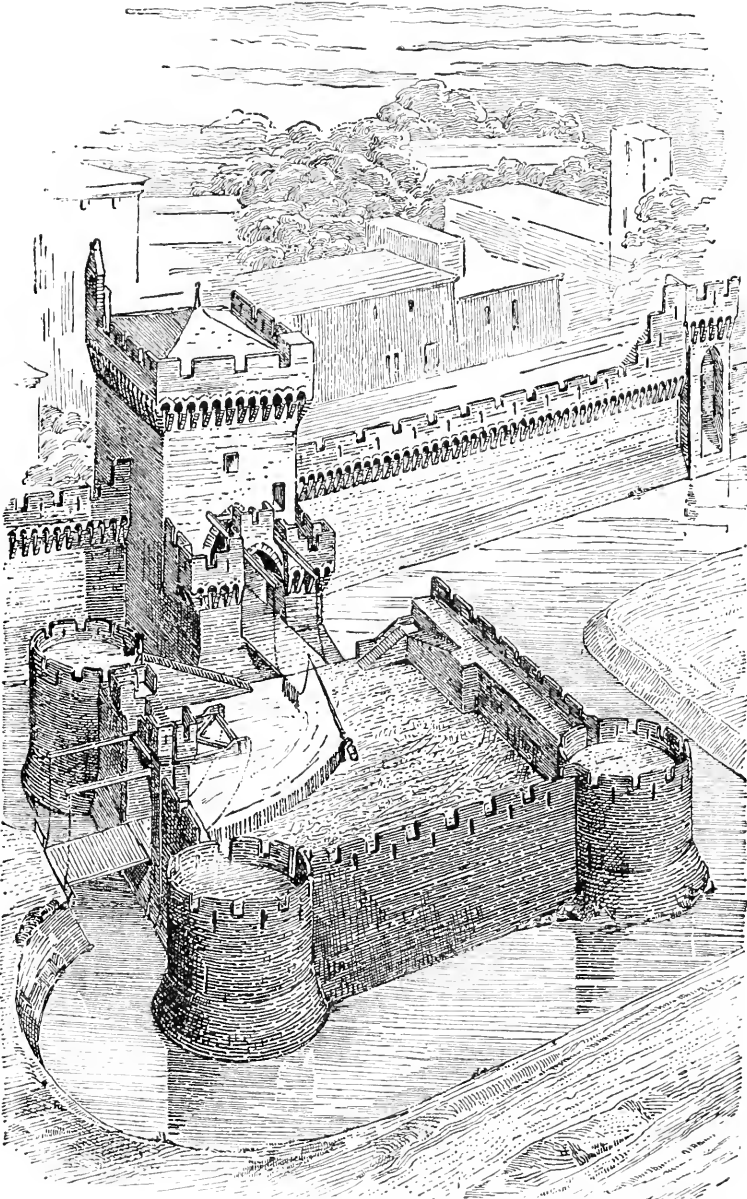


FIG. 13. — Gate of St. Lazarus in Avignon. Rebuilt in 1364, by Pope Urban V.
Example of a mediæval fortified approach to a city. (From Viollet-le-Duc.)

to Germany in the autumn of 1369. He had only restored outward order in Italy. This was clear from the revolt of Siena, which harassed him on his homeward march. The Visconti, too, soon

broke their promises, and attacked the States of the Church, so that Urban V. had to make the best of his way back to Avignon (Fig. 13) after two turbulent years in Rome.

At any rate, the second Roman expedition of Charles heightened his reputation, and shed the light of rising fortune on his rule. To



FIG. 14. — Silver coin of the city of Aix-la-Chapelle. Coined in second half of the fourteenth century. Original size. Obverse: Charlemagne figured as a saint, but with imperial insignia. Legend: SCS: KAROLVS MAGN: IMPOR. Reverse: VRBS: AQVENSIS: REGALIS: SEDES. In the inner circle MONETA AQVENS. (Berlin.)

complete his good fortune he strove especially to secure the leadership of the empire for his house. He wished to make sure that his oldest son, Wenceslaus, should succeed to the German throne, although the Golden Bull distinctly forbade an election before the throne was vacant. In the course of tedious negotiations he bribed the spiritual electors. Him-

self in possession of the votes of Bohemia and Brandenburg, he now had a majority. Consequently Saxony and the Rhine Palatinate gave up their ineffective protest. However, the electors declared themselves ready to fulfil the emperor's request only on condition of the pope's consent. Thus both parties rivalled each other in tearing the provisions of the Golden Bull to shreds. After the papal consent had come in, Wenceslaus was elected king in June, 1376, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (Fig. 14) in the beginning of the next month.

The emperor Charles IV. (Fig. 15) had three sons, among whom he so divided his rich possessions that each got a princely portion, while at the same time the unity of the Luxemburg family power was somewhat preserved. His oldest son, King Wenceslaus, received Bohemia, Silesia, a part of Lusatia, and the so-called 'Bohemian Islands' in Bavaria and Saxony (see p. 47). Brandenburg went to the ten-year-old Sigismund. The



FIG. 15. — Gold ducats of Charles IV. Original size. (Berlin). Coined for Bohemia. Obverse: † KAROLVS DEI · GRACIA. Reverse: † ROMANORVM · ET · BOEMIE · REX. In the field the crowned Bohemian lion, with double tail.

youngest, John, got the newly created duchy of Görlitz, to which were added the Neumark of Brandenburg and a part of Lusatia. As the guardian of his younger brothers, Wenceslaus had the disposal of all the Luxemburg lands, especially as after his uncle's childless death he was to have the whole of the duchy of Luxemburg. At the time of this partition Charles himself was engaged chiefly in preventing the papal schism, which the contested return of Gregory XI. to the Eternal City made imminent. To reach an understanding with France he went once more to the court of his nephew, King Charles V. Soon after his return he died in Prague, on November 18, 1378. The great hopes he had cherished for his house were not to be fulfilled.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.



FIG. 16. — Initial letter of the charter by which Edward III. enfeoffed his son, the Black Prince, with the principality of Aquitaine. London. British Museum. (From Stothard.)

VERY one could see that the attempt of a national German rising against the predominance of France and the papacy combined had essentially failed. The king had deserted the princes and the people in their courageous resistance, and Charles IV. had even conceded the chief influence to the church at the elevation of his son Wenceslaus. If the papacy, nevertheless, moved nearer its catastrophe during this period, it was due to the fact that its protector was being humiliated by the victories of the English national armies over his feudal hosts.

The independent rule of Edward III. (p. 364, Vol. IX.) brought a new era to England. He ended the dependence on France by terminating the rule of the favorites which had continued under the queen mother. England returned to its national policy, which lay in the harmonious co-operation of the king and the estates. The war with Scotland was resumed; and the national Scotch king, David Bruce, the son of Robert, had to flee to France, after his defeat at Halidon Hill in 1333. Edward de Baliol succeeded, as the vassal of Edward III., but could not hold his own against the national party, which soon arose again in alliance with the French. Their enmity to England hastened the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War (PLATE II.), in which the national strength of England first reached a

To illustrate the territorial growth of the royal power.
History of All Nations, Vol. X., page 52.



Map.—France from about 1428 to 1513

To illustrate the territorial growth of the royal power,

glorious height. The chief organ of the nation was Parliament, which reached an important stage of its growth by the definite separation of the two houses, which took place in 1331. In 1377 the speaker of the Lower House first appears by name as the spokesman of the Commons, the representative of the vast majority of the nation. Such a state organism was incompatible with the dependence in which England had stood to the papacy since the humiliation of King John (p. 235, Vol. IX.). To break this bondage, which had grown much weaker in practice, required an act of spiritual liberation. John Wycliffe, who began it under Edward III., was the first and only real reformer that the Middle Ages produced.

To these political and spiritual elements of national development and the dependence of England on France, another essentially internal element of opposition was added. For Philip VI. of Valois (1328-1350), in contradistinction to his predecessors, was the protector of feudalism against the citizen class. Even outside of France he protected feudal interests. After Count Louis of Flanders had been expelled by the citizens of Bruges and Ypres, Philip marched against both cities to subjugate them to their lord. That embittered the Flemings the more, and drove them completely into the arms of the English, to whom they had always been bound by economic and commercial interests. Meanwhile the French king, ignoring the altered demands of his time, lived in the glamour of bygone chivalry in his castle at Vincennes. There he indulged in tourneys and reckless extravagance, even going so far as to think of a crusade to the Holy Land.

Thus England and France opposed each other, the representatives, as it were, of two eras and civilizations. Under such circumstances their long-standing disputes received a higher significance and increased the violence of their collision. This applies to the field of papal politics as well as to others. It thus became the object of the English nation to protect itself from the claims of the servile French papacy to universal rule. The conflict which Louis the Bavarian had given up so timidly was taken up more successfully by Edward III.

Under these circumstances the war between England and France was inevitable. In fact, Edward's claim to the French throne was not the ultimate cause of the Hundred Years' War. The English people would never have let their best blood to win a foreign crown for its king. The English Constitution was their best safeguard, the

greatest blessing of which was that it discountenanced the voting of means for a purely dynastic conquest. Edward's pretext of an hereditary right to the French throne was merely the curtest expression for all the various differences between the English and French



FIG. 17. — Miniature from the manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century of "Les Voeux du Paon," a poem of the twelfth century. This cut, like the two following, illustrates the armor and costumes worn in France during the first half of the fourteenth century.

(for pictures of French life, see Figs. 17–19) people at large, not only between their kings. The real reason for the war lay in an entirely different quarter. In the first place, it was the vent for



FIG. 18. — French armor and dress in the first half of the fourteenth century. (See Fig. 17.)

all the ancient national hatred of the two nations, which had been embittered by the ever renewed contest about Normandy and the inheritance of Eleanor of Poitou (see p. 89, Vol. IX.), and by the feudal conflict about Gascony. Furthermore, the French supported

the Scots in their national war of independence against England, and even demanded the settlement of the quarrel by papal arbitration. The alliance which Edward III. sought with Emperor Louis the Bavarian in 1337 brought the Anglo-French quarrel into the great ecclesiastico-political conflict which filled the age.

Weighty material interests of an economic nature, in which both England and France shared, also played a part in bringing on the great struggle. They centred in the Netherlands, where divergent political and national contrasts still influenced each other. Since the successful development of the herring fisheries, new channels of wealth had opened to that country, which was poor by nature. With the rise of navigation the Dutch had become the chief middlemen between England and the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas

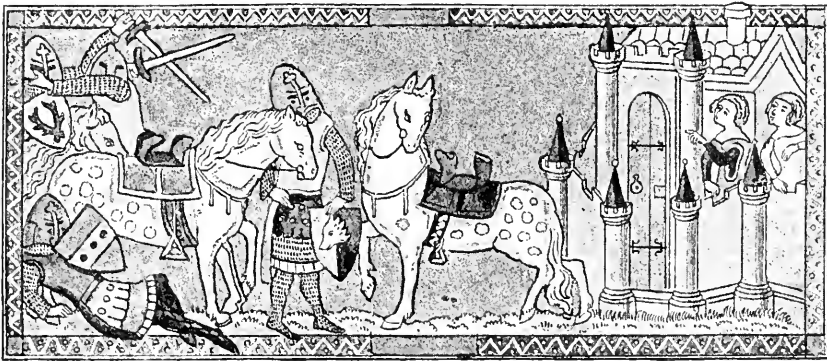


FIG. 19. — French armor and dress in the first half of the fourteenth century.

on the one hand, and the ports of the Mediterranean on the other. They stood in the very centre of the trade of the world. The Italian invention of bills of exchange had been developed by the far-seeing and enterprising Dutch merchant-princes into an invaluable organ for banking and clearing accounts. The exchange of Bruges had become the regulator of all international commercial relations. These Dutch citizens surpassed all the princes in their intelligent cultivation of art and science. Poetry, painting, and particularly architecture, flourished unexpectedly, and proved that the Dutch cities were called upon to become the exponents of the intellectual spirit of the age. Their proud, aspiring spirit embodied itself in their cathedrals. It found a more characteristic, and perhaps more impressive, expression in their town-halls (Fig. 20) with their soaring towers.

The lower classes in the Netherlands had also taken part in the



FIG. 20. — Town Hall of Bruges, built in 1376. (From Förster.)

economic progress, and were strongly drawn to their sympathetic English fellows. The rise of the manufactures brought increased respect to the artisans who were grouped in the craft-guilds. This new order found its most characteristic expression in Ghent. Here Jacob van Artevelde, a man born to be a popular leader, entered the honored craft of the brewers. He succeeded in becoming the head of the popular party, and soon led the community as its *ruwart*, or governor. This position made him more the equal than the deputy of the court, and gave him almost the entire direction of public affairs. The Flemish nobility sought support among its French peers, who were led by a feudal monarch. On the other hand, the sympathies of the French towns leaned toward the Flemish popular movement. In Brabant the so-called Joyous Entrance of 1312 averted the threatening struggle. This was a compromise between the individual estates as well as between them and their territorial lord. It put constitutional limitations on their several rights, and established definite forms for the co-operation of all classes in public affairs, after the system of the English parliamentary rule. Thus the Anglo-French war stands in the very centre of the development of the Germanic and Romance nations. In the conflict of France and the Flemish nobility with England and the Flemish towns, the past and future wrestled with each other. And the victory of France threatened the cause of the general movement toward liberty.

The Hundred Years' War did not break out until 1339. Edward III. sought an alliance with Louis the Bavarian, who ought to have recognized in England a natural ally against the papacy. Indeed, the two princes met at Coblenz in September, 1338; and Louis decided in favor of Edward III. in the matter of the French succession. He made an alliance with the English king, and appointed him imperial vicar in all the German territories west of the Rhine. But the emperor did not fulfil a single clause of his compact after the papal court made a show of reconciliation. Consequently Edward had to begin the war in 1339 without German help. There was fighting in Flanders, Gascony, and at sea, without good results for England. For even at sea the French were superior, thanks to the help of the Genoese fleet. The war did not appear one of opposing political principles until the next year. But then, in 1340, Edward III. issued a manifesto to the French nation, wherein he accused Philip VI. of usurpation, and promised to consult French representatives with a view to abrogating existing grievances. However, the national feel-

of the French was already too deeply engrained for such allurements to ensnare them. So the nation as a whole stood by its king. But the English naval victory at Sluys, in 1340, nevertheless led to an armistice which was to be the basis for a future peace. The English king, who found his forces still insufficient to cope with France in a land-war, declared his willingness to give up his claims to the French crown in return for suitable compensation.

At first, however, everything hung in the balance. Without a formal declaration of peace, the war was nevertheless suspended. But in the following spring a contest in another quarter became the signal for renewed warfare. For when Duke John III. of Brittany died, in 1341, without heirs, Philip VI. advocated the succession of the duke's niece, Jeanne. England, on the contrary, wished to make over the important possession to a step-brother of the deceased, John of Montfort. But the English intervention failed, and Edward finally accepted an armistice from Pope Clement VI. Now, this was violated by the persecution of the English adherents in Brittany, which caused the renewed outbreak of the war. In Gascony, too, the war raged against England. Her chief supporters in the north were the Flemish towns, who considered making the Prince of Wales the heir of the Count of Flanders. The democratic party thought its freedom threatened thereby, and accused Artevelde of treachery. In the summer of 1345 bloody party conflicts broke out, during which he was killed in a frightful tumult. His death was a greater loss for England, because soon after Edward's brother-in-law, Count William IV. of Holland and Hainaut, died. England's position in these Franco-German frontier lands was well nigh lost. This reacted unfavorably on trade and navigation. It resulted in financial stringency, and made the necessary subsidies unbearable. This, again, gave rise to a conflict between Edward and his parliament, which made its grants conditional on corresponding concessions, and wished to enlarge its rights at the expense of the crown by the use of foreign pressure. About this time the law was passed, that henceforth the lords should be sentenced only by their peers. It was a measure of distinct reactionary and feudal character. The Commons demanded that the officers of the state and the judges should in the future take an oath to keep the Magna Charta and other statutes, and be required to give an account of their rule before Parliament. Edward III. had to submit to these statutes on account of the rebellion which David Bruce had again raised in Scotland with the aid of the French.

The king had not paid too high a price for the favor of Parliament. For now it granted all necessary supplies for the energetic pursuit of the French war. When Edward III. attacked Normandy in 1346, not only the English knights, but also the townspeople, enlisted in his army. The late distress had at last made the war a national one. Its object was no longer the French crown, but a firm basis for English trade and commerce. In the meantime Rouen, the capital of Normandy, offered successful resistance. So Edward concluded to march straight to Paris. France flew to arms to avert the blow. With an army of 60,000, of which 8,000 were knights, Philip VI. appeared in the field, confident of overwhelming the English army by numbers. But the French army was to suffer a defeat which struck a crushing blow at the future of its puffed-up chivalry. The English king and his son Edward, the Prince of Wales, retreated before their superior force. The English crossed the Seine in safety; but the search for a ford over the Somme delayed them so long that the French army overtook them, and brought them to a halt at Crécy. The attack of the French cavalry recoiled from the firm triple line of the English, thanks to the guns of King Edward and the sharp-shooting of his Welsh bowmen. When they had thrown the French ranks into confusion, the English took the offensive, and fell upon the two lines of the enemy. In the hand-to-hand fight which followed, the heavily armed French knights were defenceless against the mighty blows of the English and Flemish foot-soldiers. The personal bravery of Philip VI. could not save the day. When the French retreated on the evening of August 25, 1346, they are supposed to have left 20,000 men on the field. Among these were 1600 barons and 4000 squires. John of Bohemia had also fallen, and his son Charles had received wounds. On the English side, for bravery, the Prince of Wales bore the palm. He was henceforth called the Black Prince, after the black armor he had worn at Crécy. The chief result of the battle of Crécy lay in its moral effect. For the oppressed saw in it not only a victory of the national enemies, but also the triumph of the political and economic principles upon the increasing recognition of which their own future rested. The knowledge of this filled them with greater self-consciousness, and led them to raise higher claims for themselves.

The direct results of the battle do not seem to have corresponded to the greatness of the victory. But, after all, it had been only a glorious retreat. As Edward lacked the necessary basis for

a defensive war since the loss of Flanders, his first object must be to win a new one. But Calais, which the king selected, only succumbed, after a year's siege, in August, 1347. After the expulsion of its inhabitants, the English left a garrison there. The pope meanwhile mediated a peace, which, however, was not observed in Brittany and Gascony. The insecurity of life lay heavily on France, where, besides, the Black Death made sad havoc. The condition of the country was made completely unbearable by the appearance of the Flagellants, and the outbreak of tumultuous persecutions of the Jews.

The rule of the first Valois had been woeful enough. The second one was to bring still greater misery on France. For King John (1350-1364) was captivated to a still greater degree than his father by the antiquated ideas of knighthood, and failed to comprehend the spirit of his time and its needs. The cities suffered most from his misrule. He ruined them systematically by heavy taxes. In his foolish blindness the king thus estranged the most promising and capable element of the nation from himself. Without regard to their opposition, he thought his position sufficiently improved by the purchase of Montpellier, and by the rise of French influence in Flanders through its internal rivalries, to wipe out the stain of Crécy. The king directed his attack against the English possessions in Guienne and Gascony. He sued Peter the Cruel, the king of Castile, for help, and gave him Blanche of Bourbon in marriage. With the same end in view John married his daughter to King Charles of Navarre, but estranged him again from his cause by not paying her dowry, nor confirming his right to the fief of Évreux, a county which the king's father had held. The quarrel was soon composed. However, the king of Navarre did not forget the insult, and could no longer be relied upon. John had to rue his mistake when the Navarrese joined the English king, and tried to win the French throne for the female Capetian line, in spite of the Salic law. The baneful effects of the battle of Crécy now first became fully apparent.

When the war broke out again the Black Prince (Fig. 21) invaded the south of France. His terrible ravages forced almost everybody back under English rule. Meanwhile Edward III. himself had been unsuccessful in his attempt to advance from Calais. But the resources of France were exhausted. To raise new supplies, John called the Estates of Northern France to Paris in November, 1355. The meeting was a stormy one; for everywhere complaints

arose against the misrule, especially from the city members. The Estates demanded a permanent control of the government with a view to imitating corresponding English institutions. They agreed to the tax on salt, or the *gabelle*, only on condition of supervising its collection. Similar demands were made in regard to the army and the mint. But hostility between the nobility and the cities after all enabled the king to split up the opposition, so that the nobility and clergy granted the requisite taxes, which, of course, fell chiefly on the cities. This proceeding caused a popular revolt in many places. Had the English appeared at that moment they would have been sure of a welcome. This danger brought the court and nobility to their senses. At a meeting of the States-General, early in 1356, they granted a general property tax which should suffice to meet the extraordinary needs of the state. The nobility and clergy would have borne their share in this tax if means had not been found in its collection of sparing them, and rolling the greater part off on the cities. In spite of his increasing difficulties, John thought that he could do away with a few nobles who had become incon-



FIG. 21. — Effigy of Edward the Black Prince, from his tomb at Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral. (From Stothard.)

venient. He surprised and executed several noble speakers of the opposition who were in communication with the mistrusted King Charles of Navarre. The dauphin likewise seized and imprisoned the king of Navarre on his visit to Normandy. Charles's followers rose in arms; John was on the point of overthrowing them, when they called upon the Black Prince, and thus reopened the way for the English into the heart of France.

Nothing more desirable could have happened to the prince. He had just completely subjugated the south, and was already marching to the Loire. On the march he stained his fair name by frightful ravages, especially in Berry and Limousin. Thereupon King John appeared in the field with the flower of French chivalry. His 40,000 men threatened to crush the 8000 English soldiers, of which only one-fourth was mailed. Consequently the Black Prince soon retreated to find safety behind the walls of Bordeaux. But as he lost three days on the march in storming a French fortress, the French army caught up with him. It surrounded him so completely at Poitiers as to leave no hope of escape. In his despair Edward opened negotiations, which a papal representative began. He was willing to surrender all his conquests, and offered a truce of seven years. The supercilious French knights, however, made impossible demands. The English preferred to die fighting. The nature of the country gave the English archers excellent opportunities for using their weapons, while it compelled the French to dismount, and advance against the well-covered position of their foes. Many attacks were repulsed by the English; and when they broke from their cover all order vanished from the ranks of the enemy. At noon the French were in headlong flight. Thousands of knights saved their lives by surrender. King John and his youngest son Philip met the same fate. The number of captives surpassed the whole English army; and 2400 nobles strewed the battlefield. The Black Prince released the captives on the condition of collecting their ransoms at home. King John was treated with becoming honor, and led to Bordeaux, whence he was brought to England.

The whole French state seemed to have been wrecked, and only its thorough renovation appeared able to save it from utter ruin. But the king was a captive. The princes of the blood and the flower of the nobility had pledged their honor to collect their ransoms with all possible speed. In doing so they had to resort to new exactions, which heightened the discontent of the lower classes. These were

willing to make every sacrifice, but desired a share in the public affairs in return. As they found no redress, a democratic revolution broke out. Their leaders were probably allured by the benefits of the English constitution, but they lacked the moderation to subordinate themselves to the commonwealth as a whole. It was the lack of this quality which condemned the movement, and turned it to the advantage of its enemies.

The dauphin assembled the States-General in Paris. The third estate sent as many members as the other two put together. The estates paid no attention to the continuation of the war, but devoted themselves to demanding the abrogation of abuses. They demanded not only the reduction of taxation and the improvement of the coinage, but also the permanent supervision of the government by the estates. The dauphin was helpless. He therefore prorogued the meeting on all sorts of pretexts, so as to reach a speedier conclusion by separate discussions with the provincial estates. But in vain. The Parisian mob threatened to carry out its demands by violence. Left without support by his uncle, the dauphin had to summon the States-General again, in the spring of 1357. And now he had to consent to their increased demands. A committee of thirty-six, twelve from each estate, were to be co-ordinated with the regent to watch him rather than advise him.

But nothing satisfactory resulted from this measure. The royal party only waited to throw off the yoke, while the popular one was bent on securing more. Meanwhile the waves of the war completely swamped France. While the war of succession broke out again in Brittany, the adherents of Charles of Navarre in Normandy took to arms. The Parisian craft-guilds, under their leader, Étienne Marcel, completely deserted the dauphin. Released from captivity, Charles of Navarre joined them. After he had gathered his followers around him in Paris, at the close of 1357, he shared the mastery of the city with Marcel. The dauphin no longer had any power. Navarre could already hope to see the Salic law annulled, the incapable Valois dethroned, and himself decked with the crown of France. But such a change of affairs was disagreeable even to the noble opposition, which left the turbulent city. On the other hand, Marcel too, and his democratic following, did not pursue the same aim. Disunion found its way into the ranks of the opposition. The advantage accrued to the dauphin. The council of thirty-six was set aside, and the expelled counsellors of King John returned to the

administration. Only the final step was wanting to restore the old régime. But Marcel anticipated it, and tore the fabric of the royal intrigues into shreds. On February 22, 1358, the armed guilds forced an entrance into the Louvre, and killed some of the counselors of the dauphin. Marcel saved the latter only by placing the blue and red cap of the popular party on his head, and donning the royal barret-cap. From that day Paris was in the hands of Marcel and his party. The dauphin escaped to Compiègne. Charles of Navarre also found Paris uncomfortable, and retreated to Normandy to await developments. These did not equal the expectations of the popular party. The other French cities on whom they had counted remained quiet in the great majority of cases.

On the other hand, the revolution made a deep impression on the down-trodden peasantry, which rose in uncontrollable fury, hoping to break its chains at one blow. Thus France was scourged simultaneously with the terrors of a social revolution. The 'Jacquerie'¹ raged with horrible savagery. In the face of this rising the other estates forgot their dissensions. Even Charles of Navarre marched against the peasants, who in turn were visited with dire punishment, and relegated to a lot which was much harder than they deserved.

The aristocratic reaction spread to Paris. The nobility now thought they could use energetic measures against the violence of the Parisian mob, and help the moderates to power by cutting off supplies from the city. Thereupon Marcel, who still ruled the streets and the market-place, sought support from the ambitious Charles of Navarre. The latter was made captain, and led the defence against the onslaught of the army of the nobles. But he soon recognized the untrustworthiness of his allies, and the impossibility of reaching his aim through them. Accordingly he sought his advantage in another direction, and opened communications with the dauphin about the surrender of Paris. Even Marcel reckoned on securing his future in this way. The suspicious mob soon penetrated the secret. The halo which had surrounded Marcel faded, and with it his position was lost. Now the Valois and the feudal parties gained power again, and looked with grim pleasure on the intestinal destruction of their hitherto invincible enemies. Their victory was decided when Marcel was killed in a street brawl, on July 31, 1358.

¹ So called either from the name *Jacques Bonhomme* given the peasants, or from the jackets which they wore. — Tr.

On August 3 the dauphin entered Paris unopposed. All vied with one another in subserviency to win the grace of the regent. They considered the punishment which he inflicted on the participants in the late excesses no more than their deserts. Without having taken a stroke to maintain his position, the dauphin found himself in full possession of power. With him the nobility again entered upon the enjoyment of its privileges. The political and social regeneration of France had suffered complete shipwreck, and the restored monarchical rule weighed the heavier on all.

To make matters still worse, the renewal of the English war threatened, for the truce expired in the summer of 1359. The provisional peace, however, which the captive king had made with Edward III., was so disadvantageous that France preferred to undergo the risk of a new conflict, and the exhausted land exerted herself to the uttermost. To secure harmony, the dauphin granted a general amnesty to the remaining Parisian rebels. He also made terms with the king of Navarre, who had been harassing him by cutting off supplies from Paris. Notwithstanding, the war which Edward began, in 1359, by an advance from Calais, had the unhappiest results for France. The English sent skirmishing-parties as far as Rheims, and plundered Burgundy mercilessly. In the spring of 1360 they advanced unopposed on Paris, wasting the surrounding country to such an extent that the victors soon cut themselves off from sustenance. Threatened by an uprising of the despairing peasants, the English turned south to the Loire. But in England itself people were tired of a war which could not enhance the final victory, while it continually demanded great financial sacrifices, and delivered up trade and commerce to French pirates. Consequently the renewed attempts at pacification by the pope found a hearing. Through his mediation a peace was made at Bretigny, near Chartres, on May 8, 1360. But from the very beginning its practicability seemed doubtful, for France was to surrender all that it had gained from England in the endless contest of a century and a half. It was to be content with the narrow boundaries of the early thirteenth century. In return for renouncing his claim on the French throne, on Normandy, and the possessions of the Anjous on the Loire, Edward III. received in full sovereignty the districts of Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Rouergue, and others: besides Gascony, Guienne, Guines, and Calais. It was a third of France. The sacrifice could only prompt the French to reconquer it sooner or

later. That was as yet in the dim future; for France was condemned for a long time to financial dependence on England by that clause of the treaty of Bretigny which set the ransom of King John at 3,000,000 gold pieces, the fifth part of which was to be paid forthwith.

Therefore even peace was no blessing to France. To collect the ransom the nation had to be taxed to the utmost, the lower classes, as usual, bearing the heaviest share. Besides, the citizens and peasants suffered from the ravaging mercenaries, whom nobody could restrain. Terrible epidemics also followed in the train of the war and the scarcity of food. The king thought of expiating the wrongs he had done his country, by going on a crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land with his knightly companions. He crossed to England to enlist that state in his undertaking. Edward III. received him with great splendor, and flattered his vanity by pageants and tournaments. But John fell sick during his visit, and died on April 8, 1364. His remains were carried over the Channel, and buried in the royal tomb at St. Denis. The evil effects of his reign lived after him. For in 1361 he had given the vacant crown-fief of Burgundy to his younger son Philip, thus breaking with the policy of the Capetians, who had always incorporated such fiefs with the kingdom, so as to increase its strength, and break the power of the great feudal lords.

At first the change of rulers was beneficial to France. For John's successor, Charles V. (1364-1380), not only was more serious and energetic than his father, but also had gone through a severe school while regent. Charles V. was a thorough statesman, and became a thorough master in the new art of royal administration. The days of his subjection as dauphin to the Marcel faction had instilled in him an insurmountable antipathy to the States-General, which he thought responsible for the popular excesses. Therefore he evaded summoning them by avoiding the causes which had forced them upon his father. Accordingly he practised painful economy in his government. He kept the coinage up to its standard, so that his subjects had no cause for complaint, or, if they had such, could be sure of relief. Thus he crushed the opposition, and won a commanding position by skilfully playing off the nobility against the citizens. The king complemented the good impression which his salutary rule made by his successes in the field. Himself incapable of leading his nation to battle, he ap-

pointed the right man for the right place, and gave him free scope wherever he had conclusively proved his mastery.

Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton knight, thus became the avenger of France, and organized its prostrate military force. With keen insight he saw that the days of feudal warfare were over, that war was no longer a tournament on a large scale, but the employment of an effective weapon for the destruction of the enemy. Bertrand du Guesclin possessed an untamable bravery and great inventive skill. After having served as military apprentice in the Breton war of succession, he had shown his skill and fortune in the wars against the Navarrese and Peter the Cruel of Castile. During these years he had been drilled in the English art of war, and now he copied their institutions in his small army. He dispensed almost entirely with knights, and formed his mercenaries into compact companies. He thus created a professional army, recruited from all classes, in great part from foreigners. But these troops consisted largely of that savage horde of mercenaries which long had laid France waste far and wide. Charles V. consequently soon wished them out of his country. His uncle, the emperor Charles IV., thought of disposing of them in Hungary against the Turks. But they never reached that country; because their ravages in Champagne and Lorraine caused the Alsatians to oppose them, and force them to turn back. In view of the experiences of the van, the remaining companies refused to march to the east.

Just then complications arose in Castile which enabled Charles V. (Fig. 22) to get rid of the mercenaries, using them at the same time to the advantage of France. In 1368 a revolt had broken out against the tyranny of King Peter the Cruel (1350-1369), of Castile. It was led by his natural brother, Henry of Trastamare. Peter had fled to France to seek aid from the Black Prince (Fig. 23), as England took sides with the expelled king; but Charles V. sent help to Henry of Trastamare, in the shape of Bertrand du Guesclin with his mercenaries. A new collision between England and France ensued. The final outcome of the struggle was favorable to France. For after a transitory victory, Peter no sooner regained his kingdom with English help than a new uprising followed. After his death in 1369 Henry was recognized as king. Thus England lost an important ally south of the Pyrenees, and France won a firm stay. In consequence the national sympathies of the southern French revived again. When the Black Prince went so far as to levy new im-



FIG. 22. — Charles V. of France, 1371. Dedication of Jean de Bruges, in a Bible made for the king. The inscription reads: Anno domini trecentesimo septuagesimo primo istud opus pictum fecit ad preceptum ac honorem illustris principis Karoli regis Francie etatis sue trecesimo quinto et regni sui octavo et Johannes de Bruges pictor regis predicti fecit hanc picturam propria sua manu.

positions to cover the expenses of the Castilian war, the Estates of Gascony refused payment, and made complaint to Charles V. By entertaining these complaints the French king broke with the Peace of Bretigny, which had given full sovereignty to the English kings in the surrendered districts, including the right to settle all complaints. At first Charles V. indulged in some formalities. He requested the universities of Bologna, Montpellier, Toulouse, and Orleans to give their opinions about the binding force of the treaty. Then, in January, 1369, the French king summoned the Black Prince to answer for his conduct before the court of peers in Paris. The prince replied hotly that he would come, but with 60,000 men. The breach was inevitable.

As a man Gascony and Guienne rose against the English rule, while Charles V. summoned the States-General to Paris¹ for the first time, to assure himself of their help in reconquering the lost provinces. They showed the greatest readiness, and granted all necessary supplies. At the same time the position of France was favorable in other respects. For the English parliament and nation had no desire to renew the war. The Black Prince, who had



FIG. 23.—Gold coins of Edward the Black Prince, as Duke of Aquitaine. Original size.
Obverse : † ED · PO · GNS (primogenitus)
REGIS · ANGLI · PNS (princeps) AQUITA.
Reverse : † AVXILIVM · MEVM · A ·
DOMINO · R · (Berlin.)

not fulfilled the promise of his younger years, was sick unto death. King Edward himself was old. His strength was impaired so that he, too, would rather have seen the peace kept. On the seas the Franco-Castilian fleet had the advantage, and inflicted great damage on English commerce and navigation. Then, too, the whole southwest of France longed for reunion with the mother country. Moreover, the marriage of Philip of Burgundy with the heiress of Flanders gave the Valois the predominance in the Netherlands. Accordingly, in spite of individual vicissitudes, the progress of the war was favorable to France. Bertrand du Guesclin advanced unimpeded, and everyone joined him. Soon he stood at the foot of the Pyrenees. When the hated Black Prince, stricken with disease, had to return to England, where he died early in 1376, fortune entirely forsook the

¹ For a view of the Louvre at this time, see Fig. 24.

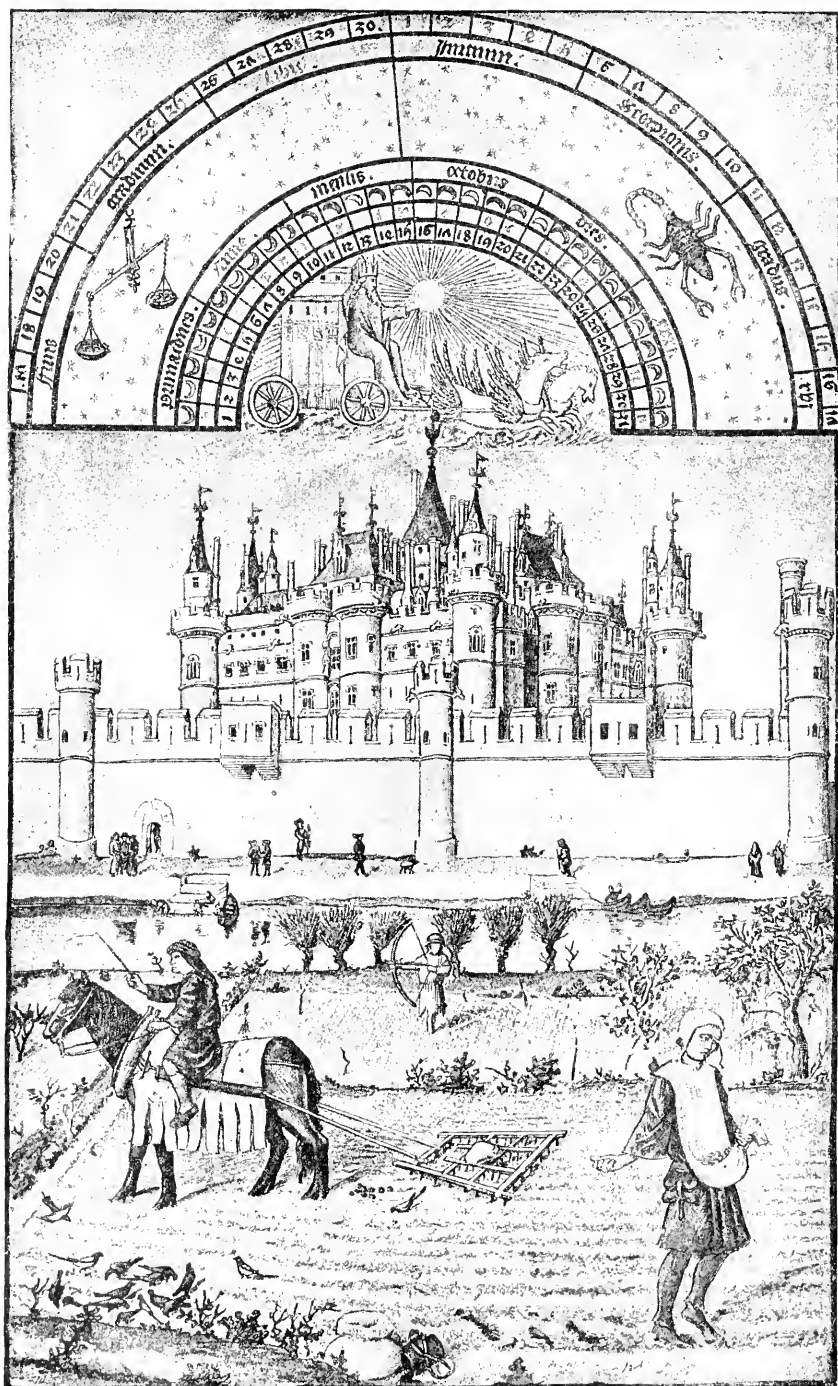


FIG. 21. — The Louvre in the reign of Charles V. of France. Miniature in the calendar of the "Grandes Heures" of the Duke of Berry. Paris, library of the Duke d'Aumale. (From Müntz.)

English standard. Bertrand du Guesclin rapidly reconquered the southwest, so that there only Bordeaux and Bayonne, and in the north Calais, remained in the hands of the English, who now longed for peace. At the mediation of Pope Gregory XI. negotiations were begun. In 1375 a congress took place at Bruges, where England was represented by the Duke of Lancaster, with John Wycliffe, and France by the Duke of Burgundy. But the negotiations finally fell through, because Charles V. insisted on the surrender of Calais. Only a truce was arranged, which satisfied neither party, and contained the germ of a new war. Presently, however, events occurred across the Channel which precluded it for some time.

On June 21, 1377, Edward III. died, after an eventful and glorious reign of half a century. But England had already passed the zenith of her power; and perhaps the king did not look without anxiety upon the succession of his minor grandchild, Richard II. (1379-1399). Charles V. immediately used the situation to begin the war again. It raged with especial fierceness in Brittany, where Duke John now sided with England. Du Guesclin, however, whom the king had sent thither, refused to fight against his fellow-countrymen, and sent back his sword, the mark of his rank as constable of France, to the king. On his own account he turned south to stop the excesses of the spoiling mercenaries. He was cut short in the height of his career, on July 13, 1380, while besieging the castle of Randon. Highly prized by the nation and the king, the latter had the hero buried with royal honors in the vault of St. Denis. With the death of du Guesclin, the fortune which had followed his flag seemed to flee the French again. The English once more invaded France. Under John of Lancaster they made raids as far as Rheims and Troyes, but returned when a French army under the royal princes appeared in the field. However, the English were overtaken, and brought to a standstill on the river Sarthe. A decisive battle was at hand when the news of the king's mortal illness called the princes to his death-bed. On September 16, 1380, Charles V. closed his restless and successful career. To restore his kingdom he had been forced to weigh down his exhausted people with heavy taxes. But they bore it, because they preferred to serve their country to serving the conqueror. With loving painstaking, which won him the respect of the lowest classes, Charles devoted his energy chiefly to the peasants. He took the greatest interest in the technical details of agriculture, which were of the

highest importance to the well-being of the farmer (cf. Fig. 24). At his request Jean de Brie wrote his popular treatise, "Concerning the Care of Flocks and Agriculture." Intellectual interests revived generally in the people. Under Charles V., Jean Froissart (1333-1408), the most charming chronicler of his time, began his literary career (PLATE III.). In its course he developed into one of the most interesting and distinguished representatives of the fourteenth century Frenchmen.

There was little prospect, indeed, of maintaining the successes of Charles V. during the minority of his successor (Fig. 25). It was the signal for bitter conflicts within the royal house, and threw France into the horrors of civil war. Therefore the death of Edward III. was fortunate for France, because of the ensuing dissolution in England, which made the continuation of continental schemes impossible. The heir to the English throne, Richard II., was only eleven years old. The composition of the council of regency—two bishops, two earls, two barons, two baronets, and four knights bachelors, besides the chancellor and treasurer—revealed the intention of the ambitious estates to use the minority of the king to enlarge their influence. The increased taxation, the rivalry of the ambitious barons, and the mighty church movement which Wycliffe's teaching had spread, all created a general feeling of dissatisfaction. The undefined longing for a better lot broke out into open violence through the slightest causes. As in the case of the French Jacquerie, the religio-political agitation in England spread to the social field, and made decided enemies even among the former adherents and upholders of the old social order.

John Wycliffe, the only real reformer of his time, was a man who conceived the idea of an ecclesiastical reform from a broad point of view. He went back to the great principles of evangelical truth. He not only drew theoretical consequences from these truths, but had the courage to realize them. Born in 1324, Wycliffe grew up during the glorious war with France, which involved also a victory over the Gallicized papacy. The English king and Parliament now co-operated to free the state from its dependence on Rome. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors¹ forbade appointments to English benefices by the pope to the exclusion of those of their patrons. Two years later a statute forbade appeals to the papal

¹ 'Provisors' was the name of those provided with or appointed to a benefice or clerical living. — *Tr.*

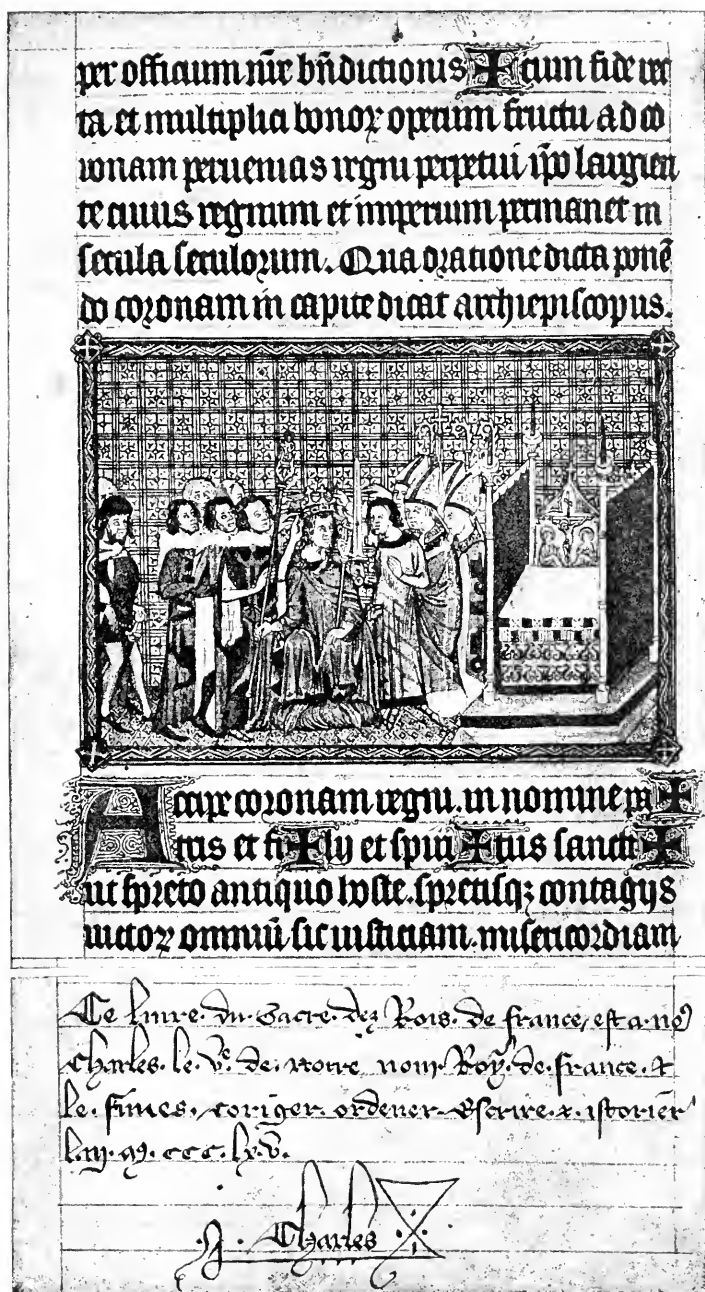


FIG. 25. — Folio from a manuscript containing the ceremonies used at the unction of the French kings. Written in 1365 for Charles V. London, British Museum. (Publications of the Paleographical Society of London.)

court on pain of forfeiture.¹ Finally, in 1366, Parliament declared that henceforth the feudal rent, originally exacted from King John, was no longer to be paid to the papacy. During these proceedings, Wycliffe, who had been master of Balliol College, Oxford, since 1360, first became known to wider circles. In 1375 he was sent with John of Lancaster to negotiate a peace at Bruges, which resulted only in a truce (p. 71). By examining the legal title of the papal claims, Wycliffe entered more and more upon the dogmatic field, and found the final cause of the decay of the church in its divergence from the true word as embodied in the Scriptures. Thus he changed from a champion of the national liberation of the English Church to a true spiritual reformer. His patron, the Duke of Lancaster, preferred him to the rich parish of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he could pursue his theological studies undisturbed. These led him to reject not only the institution of the Mendicant Orders, but monasticism in general. He pointed out that the doctrines of auricular confession, indulgences, saint and image worship, and of purgatory were not founded on the Scriptures. He turned not only to the learned, but addressed the people at large by using the English tongue and a popular form of expression. Naturally the clergy wished to make him harmless. He was accused of heresy on the ground of eighteen or nineteen 'conclusions' in his writings. The bishop of London summoned him before his court. But Lancaster, who accompanied him to St. Paul's, stopped the trial.

But the movement started by Wycliffe was already extending into other fields. Followers of Wycliffe, called 'poor preachers,' or 'simple priests,' preached against the wealth and luxury of the clergy, and demanded the fulfilment of the mandate of apostolic poverty. Such doctrines caused dangerous agitation among the lowest classes, which Wycliffe could not indorse. He proceeded the more decidedly in the actual field of dogma. The Great Schism in the papacy helped to remove many barriers for him which he had previously refrained from attacking. By maintaining that sinful priests lost their power of mediation, and that the communion was a purely spiritual act, he attained a higher point of view than any of the champions of church reform before or after him. More than a century later Luther was to attain it, but by an entirely different road. This new doctrine of Wycliffe made a great impression on the

¹ This prohibition was repeated by the Statute of Praemunire in 1393, and at other times. — Ed.

spiritually needy who were too poor to buy comfort for the soul. Together with the distress of the French war, this side of his teaching, spread by the 'simple priests' in the form of a social gospel, caused an unruly ferment in many districts. The outbreak ensued when the government exacted a new poll-tax, which, as usual, fell heaviest on the peasants. In Essex and Kent these rose under Wat Tyler, John Ball, and Jack Straw, and took bloody vengeance on their manorial lords. At their approach the mob of London joined the revolt. They plundered the city, besieged the king in the Tower, and demanded the death of his counsellors. But when the lord mayor ran Wat Tyler through at a parley, and the king had the happy thought of declaring himself on the spot the leader of the astonished mob, it wavered, fell back, began to disperse. Thereupon their enemies persecuted the rebels so unmercifully as to choke the idea of an uprising for generations.

The rebellion also hurt the cause of Wycliffe. The country made his teachings responsible for the excesses of the peasants. The clergy now thought the time was come to strike a crushing blow. In May, 1382, a synod at London condemned twenty-four of Wycliffe's articles as heretical. It is doubtful whether he appeared before a council in Oxford late the same year to defend his doctrine about the eucharist. He retained his living at Lutterworth, and employed his declining years by once more succinctly stating his teaching in the "Trialogus" and "Dialogus." He died at Lutterworth, on December 31, 1384. The national reformation of the English church which Wycliffe inaugurated came to a standstill on account of the events of 1381, and was never taken up again. At first his followers, the Lollards, were tolerated. But from the end of the fourteenth century persecution overtook them. They had to seek hiding-places, whence they were hounded forth and finally exterminated by orthodoxy in the service of the state.

The hopes to which the young king's energetic treatment of the peasant revolt of 1381 had given rise were doomed to disappointment. Despotie, whimsical, and voluptuous, he repaid the regents, his uncles of Lancaster and Gloucester, with ingratitude by removing them from the government. Upstarts pressed into their places, and ruled the king by flattering acquiescence. Michael de la Pole, a man of low origin, was made chancellor and earl of Suffolk. The Lieutenant of Ireland, Robert de Vere, was associated with him. To add to the discontent, the wars against the Scotch and French were un-

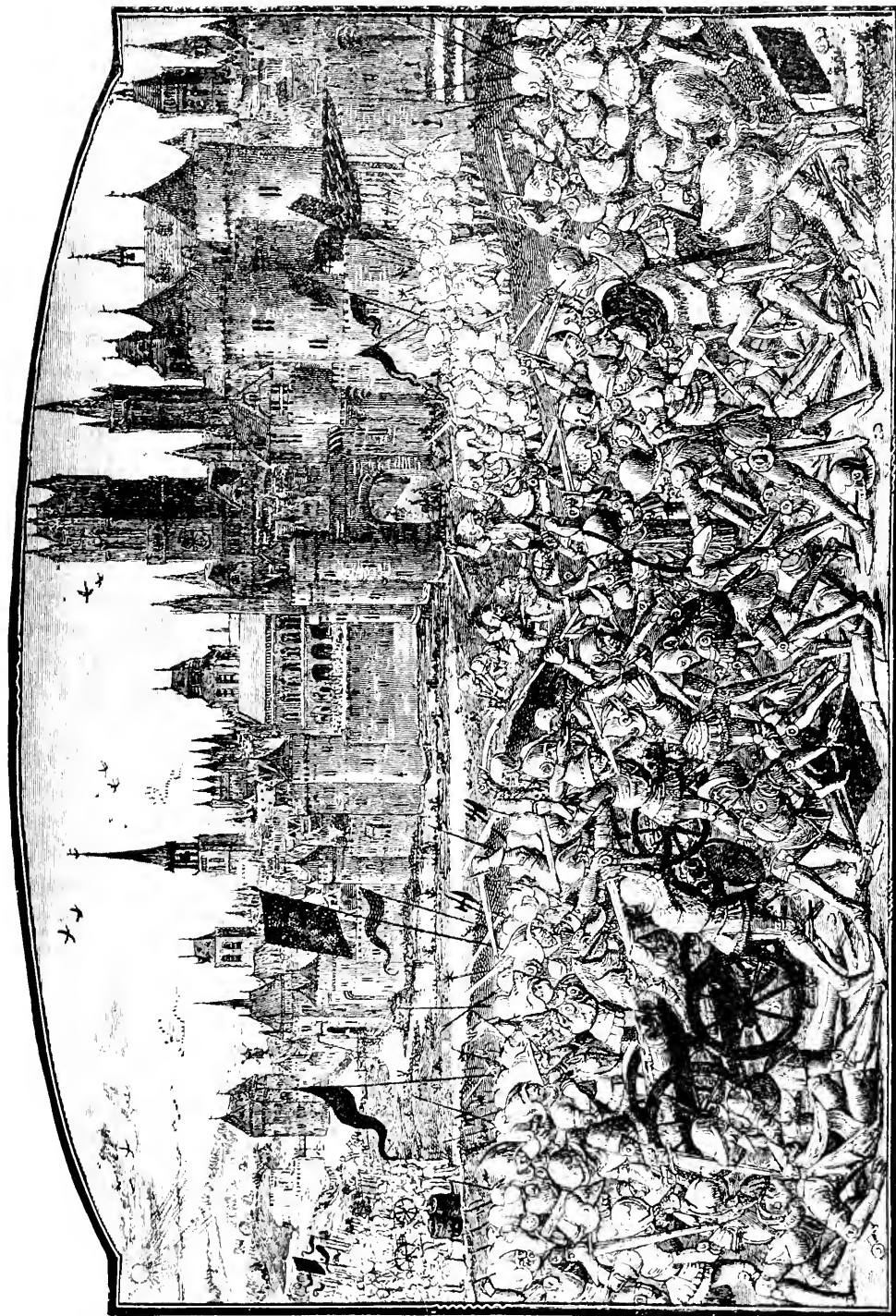
successful. The English did not recover their foothold in Flanders, in spite of the urgent appeals of Philip van Artevelde. Trade and navigation lay prostrate, and the pressure of taxation rose. It soon appeared that Richard II. (Fig. 26) and his new counsellors were bent on breaking down the barriers of the constitution against royal despotism. This danger reunited all classes in defence of their rights. In the autumn of 1386 the conflict blazed up. Parliament answered the king's fresh demands for subsidies with the demand for the dismissal of Suffolk and the other counsellors who were guilty of the misrule. Richard retaliated by the threat of invoking

French aid. Thereupon the Duke of Gloucester declared, in the name of Parliament, that it would depose him in that case. To avoid the fate of Edward II., the king submitted for the time being. He gave up his hated officials, and submitted the government to the supervision to the eleven spiritual and temporal Lords Commissioners of Regency, who were appointed for a year. They re-



FIG. 26. — Seal of Richard II. of England. Three-fifths original size. (Berlin.)

formed the administration and royal household relentlessly, but at the same time aroused the dissatisfaction of the citizens of London. That did not escape the king. He prepared for a *coup d'état* with de Vere, but his enemies forestalled him. The army of the nobles led by Gloucester got the mastery in London, where all opposition stopped. Richard, confined in the Tower, had to give up his favorites to the revenge of their enemies. Suffolk and de Vere, however, escaped beyond sea. In February, 1387, the merciless Parliament condemned the fugitives and the chief-justice Tresilian, as well as Brember, the ex-mayor of London, to be hanged. The two latter were executed. In June more executions followed, although some of



View of Bruges in the fifteenth century. Battle between citizens of Ghent and Bruges in the foreground.

Miniature of the fifteenth century in the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau

the victims were not directly concerned in the misrule. The victorious party stretched the law of treason to a frightful extent. To secure themselves, however, they made Parliament declare that their proceedings should never serve as a precedent in like trials for treason. The conditions imposed by the rule of the nobles were quite unbearable. Their abuse of power drove all the other classes into the king's camp. Thus strengthened, the latter could abolish the Lords Commissioners in the spring of 1389. He ruled alone again with a council of his own choice, and mollified Parliament by promising to govern lawfully.

But Richard's conversion was not sincere. He wished to conclude the foreign war only to have free scope for his tyranny at home. He therefore made truces with Scotland and France. A successful campaign against the Irish insurgents in 1397 raised Richard's reputation at home. The king skilfully sued for the support of the opposition, trying particularly to isolate his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. To have a prop in case of need, the English king put himself in communication with Charles VI. of France. Having lost his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, he married Isabella, the daughter of the French king, in 1397. This only roused the suspicions of the people. But they hated the overthrown faction of the nobles so bitterly, that they still approved of the king's measures against it. Nobody, therefore, stirred when Richard, in 1397, had Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel arrested. In the autumn the commons impeached them for high treason. While Gloucester was kept in close confinement at Calais to prevent his rescue, the subservient Parliament condemned Arundel to death, and Richard had him executed. He banished Warwick to the Isle of Man. Gloucester died in prison, presumably despatched at the king's command. The servile Parliament approved everything. It annulled the statute of 1386, by which the Commissioners of Regency had been appointed. Moreover, it gave up its most effective weapon against tyranny, by making Richard a grant of the subsidy on wool, woolfells, and leather for life.¹ This enabled the king to hire mercenaries, and overthrow all opposition. He suspended the English constitution. The Parliament of Shrewsbury delegated all powers to a committee of twelve lords and six com-

¹ This Parliament, meeting September 17, 1397, annulled the statute of 1386. The subsidy grant here referred to was made, however, by a second Parliament, that of Shrewsbury, which met on January 28, 1398. Cf. Stubbs, "Constitutional History," vol. ii., pp. 518 ff. and 521 ff. — Tr.

moners. They were chosen from Richard's friends, and made him absolute.

At first the people looked calmly upon the reaction. But they soon felt insecure under the tyranny of the revengeful despot. The respected, influential, and popular were particularly distasteful to the king, because they might become dangerous. By skilful intriguing Richard raised bad blood between Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford and heir of Lancaster. They brought accusations against each other, the proof of which would have put them hopelessly into the king's power. A judicial combat was to settle the question. But before it began Richard stopped it, and with a show of mercy banished Bolingbroke for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Henceforth the king's despotism knew no bounds. When Hereford's father died, his estates escheated to the crown. But even the meanest were in constant terror of their freedom and life. The humor of the people gradually underwent a change. Still, they were patient in the hope that the misery would soon cease, as it appeared certain that Richard would have no heirs of his body. Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March, and next heir to the throne, fell in battle against the Irish in 1399, leaving only a minor son. All eyes now turned on Bolingbroke, become Duke of Lancaster by his father's death. An invasion by the exile was prepared. Richard himself played into the hands of the opposition. In May, 1399, he made an expedition against the Irish, which proved a miserable failure. He lost his army almost entirely, and fled to the coast to embark for England.

Meanwhile, Lancaster had landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. As everybody went over to him, he was soon at the head of a force which placed the kingdom at his mercy. In the meantime, Richard landed on the Welsh coast, but was deserted by his following on the news of Lancaster's doings. Lancaster's messengers found Richard alone in Conway Castle: and, with assurances of the best intentions of their lord, they invited him to a meeting with them. He was really a prisoner in their hands, and as such Lancaster fetched him to London. The city hailed Lancaster as a deliverer. At last the hypocrite threw off his mask. He had come to win the crown, not to regain his inheritance as he had maintained. The dethronement of Edward II. was almost repeated. Yet there was this difference. In the first instance a faction of nobles had caused the deposition in its interest. In this case an individual, Lancaster, was the prime mover,

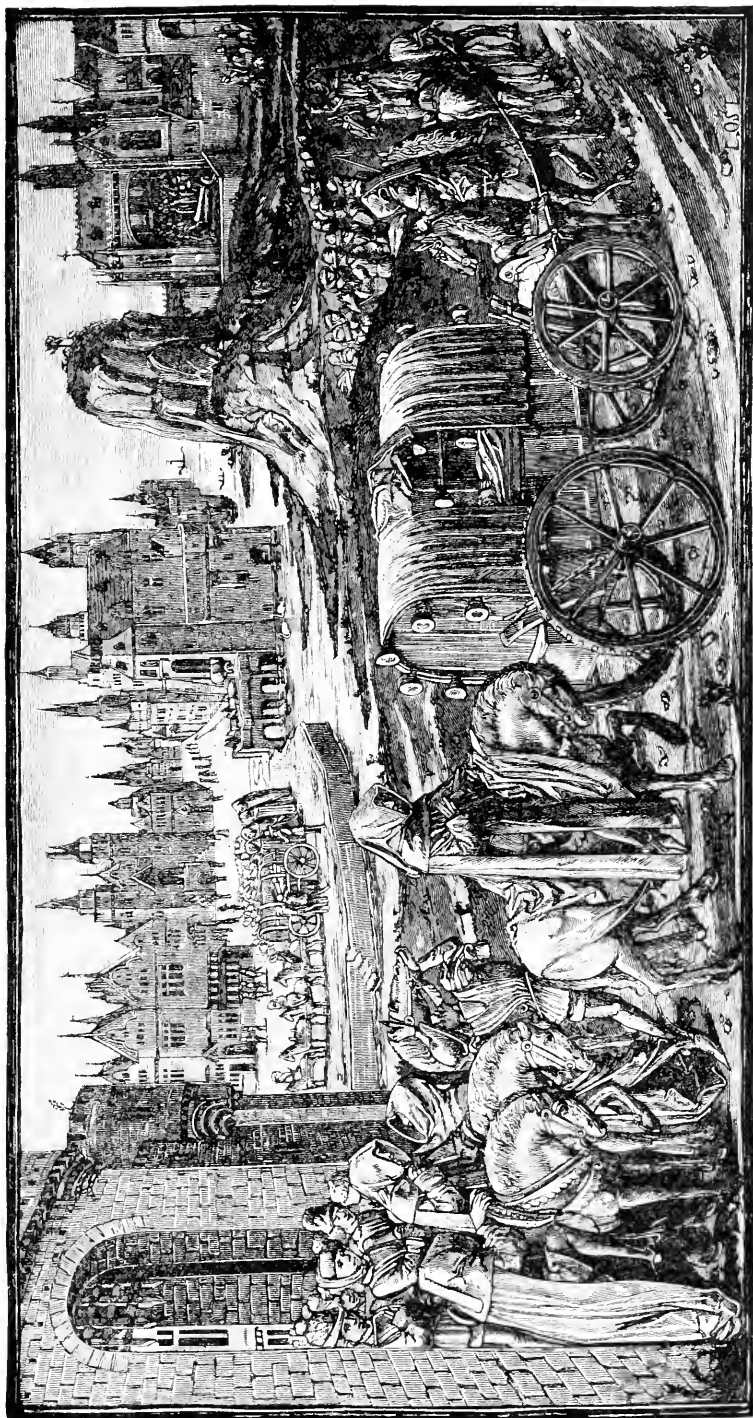
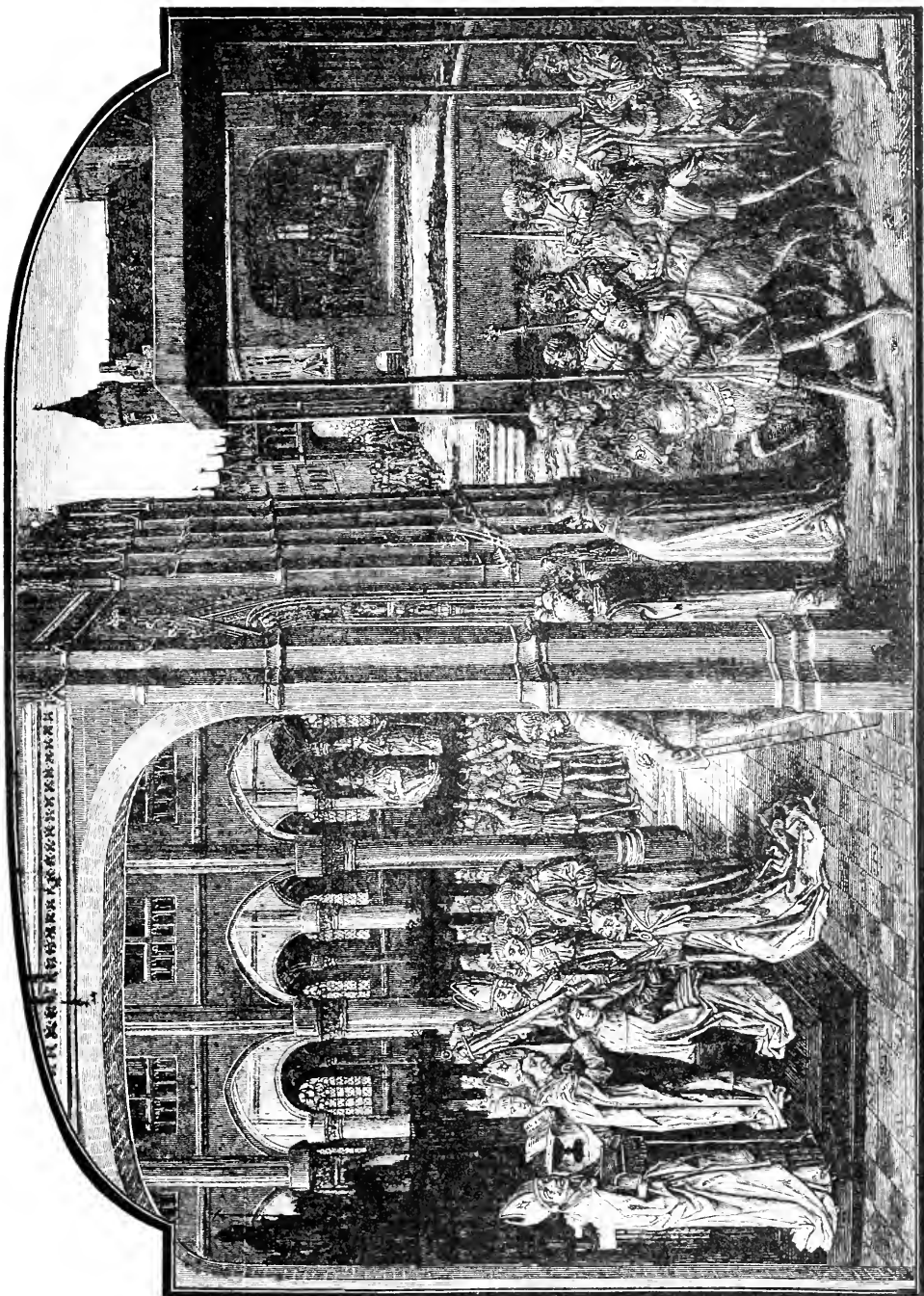


FIG. 27.— Funeral procession of Richard II. of England. Miniature in the Froissart Manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.

with the whole nation at his back. Parliament was so degraded that it approved everything, and readily legalized the usurpation of the house of Lancaster. Richard hoped to save his life by voluntarily executing the deed of resignation in Parliament on September 29, 1399. But his attempt was futile. A special committee set forth in detail the various grounds on which Richard was supposed to have forfeited his crown. Thus the deposition of the king was formally ratified. Thereupon Lancaster, as the next heir, claimed the throne, and was raised upon it. Richard II. died as a state's prisoner in the Castle of Pontefract (Fig. 27¹). His death was certainly not a natural one; presumably he died of starvation.

As the whole nation was guilty of abetting the usurper, it had to suffer the consequences of the outrageous deed. For the reign of Henry IV. (1399-1413) corresponded in its acts to its origin. He had to remain on good terms with Parliament, for as soon as it withdrew its support every legal title of his rule fell to the ground. That explains why he curried favor with both Houses, and especially his pliancy toward the church. It made him break with the national tradition by handing over the followers of Wycliffe to the clergy. As he needed their resources, he assisted in passing the unheard-of statute about the burning of heretics (*de haeretico comburendo*). Otherwise his dependence on Parliament was beneficial to the growth of the constitution. Parliament extended its supervision of the finances even to the royal household. Henceforth all officials had to take an oath on the laws of the realm. Finally the usage was established that members of Parliament were free from arrest during its sessions. It was not weakness which prompted Henry IV. (PLATE IV.) to make these concessions. He was led rather by cool political calculation, a fact which is amply proved by the energy with which he opposed the encroachments of Parliament on his royal prerogative.

¹ This manuscript, with its excellent miniatures, is the work of artists of the Flemish school, and is one of the best sources of information as to dress, manners, and customs in the fifteenth century. It was written in 1468-1469 for Antoine de Bourgogne.



Coronation of Henry IV. of England.

Miniature of the fifteenth century in the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau

CHAPTER IV.

NORTHERN EUROPE AND THE SWISS CONFEDERATION IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

SCANDINAVIA, excepting Denmark during its temporary feudal dependence, felt the German influence comparatively little, in spite of its missionary and trading connections with Germany. Notwithstanding, the spirit of national independence unaided gained ground in the north. This spirit in turn emphasized the opposition between the Scandinavians and Germans, which led to a series of national struggles. Their outcome was the formation of a new state on the Baltic. The successes which the Hanseatic fleets, manned with citizens, won over their northern enemies, are a fit counterpart of the victories of the English national army over the French feudal host.

Denmark had been made a limited monarchy. Constitutional conflicts were not long in breaking out. Christopher II. (1320–1326) wished to free himself from the capitulation which had laid such restrictions on the royal power (p. 373, Vol. IX.). But the nobility answered his attempt by an armed uprising. The king had to make his escape, and the regency fell to the mighty Count Gerhard of Holstein and Stormarn. By sacrificing the royal prerogatives still more, he bought the election for his twelve-year-old nephew, Waldemar of Schleswig. At the same time he had the fief of Schleswig conferred on himself in perpetuity. The dissatisfaction caused by these measures prompted Christopher II. to try to regain his throne. But he was defeated, and retreated to his half-brother John, who ruled over Falster, Femern, and other islands. There he died in 1332. His son Otto lost his life in trying to reconquer his paternal kingdom. As Waldemar was not strong enough to maintain his position, he voluntarily abdicated; and the youngest son of Christopher II., Waldemar IV. (1340–1375), was elected king. Denmark recovered and gathered new strength under him. First of all Waldemar established peace within the realm by simply giving up

all the contested districts which he was unable to hold. After five years of preparation the king showed his real nature. He conquered the island of Fünen while its lord, Count Henry of Holstein, was seeking adventure in the service of England and Sweden. Gradually Waldemar gathered in the alienated estates, and became the second founder of Denmark. He enlisted his people for winning back the southern districts of Sweden by granting them the Charter of Kallundborg in 1360. Herein he renounced absolute sovereignty, restored the old rights and privileges of the estates, and promised to call regular diets. With the aid of the estates the king then conquered Scania, Halland, and Blekingen in the south of Sweden. His kingdom had its original extent again.

This set both king and people against the maritime and commercial sway which Germany held over Denmark and Sweden by means of the Hanseatic League. To damage Sweden, and to crush the power of the League in the Baltic at the same time, Waldemar suddenly fell upon both in the summer of 1361. His fleet first conquered the island of Oeland. Then he landed near Wisby, on Gothland. The strong fortifications of Wisby would doubtless have withstood the siege if it had awaited the re-enforcements of the Hanseatic League. But the inhabitants of the town were too much embittered by Waldemar's breach of peace. Overestimating their strength, they made a sally to try a pitched battle with the aid of the Swedish peasantry. Waldemar, however, defeated them on July 27, and the city had to capitulate. A part of its walls were razed, and Waldemar entered in triumph. The Danes seized the rich booty stored in the churches and monasteries of Wisby. But otherwise the king spared the city, and even confirmed its privileges. He put it on a level with the Danish cities, in the hope of henceforth drawing the large profits which had flowed to Sweden, and of making the Hanseatic League more serviceable. But here the king was mistaken. For the frightened German merchants no longer felt safe on the island. They deserted Wisby (Fig. 28), which became depopulated, and fell into ruins. Dantzic henceforth became the chief staple of the northern Hanseatic trade.

Waldemar's attack upon Wisby had unfortunate results for Denmark itself. For the League was eager for revenge, as was Sweden, which was the chief sufferer. Norway, which was united with Sweden under the rule of Magnus II., also joined the alliance against Denmark. This found another member in Count Henry of Holstein,

who wished to regain Fünen. The direction of the common war lay in the hands of Lübeck. Led by the mayor of Lübeck, Hans Wittenberg, the mighty Hanseatic fleet attacked Copenhagen in the summer of 1362, took the city, and plundered it. But the fleet was badly repulsed off Scania. The attack on Helsingborg also failed. A truce made in 1363 was prolonged to 1367. It left Gothland in the hands of the Danes.

Meanwhile Waldemar's growing despotism aroused the nobility against him. Also the Hanseatic merchants had constant cause

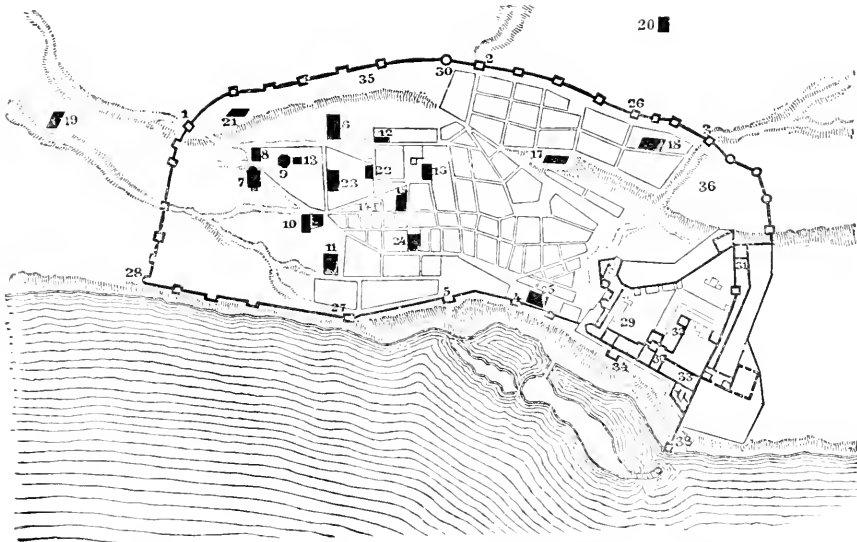


FIG. 28. — Plan of Wisby. 1-5, gates of the old wall; 6-20, churches, all of which are now in ruins; 21, mint; 22, school; 23, episcopal palace; 24, court-house; 25, government buildings (21-25 are marked as they stood in the seventeenth century); 26-34, fortified towers; 35, 36, cliffs; 38, bastion at the harbor. (From "*Suecia antiqua et hodierna*.")

for complaints. The Danes restricted their trade in every way. To avert commercial ruin the League had to take to arms again. At a meeting in Cologne, in November, 1367, the merchants decided on war against Denmark. Only Hakon, the new king of Norway, stood by Waldemar, who was his father-in-law. The count of Holstein and most of the princes on the Baltic joined the cities. Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, the nephew and successor of the deposed Swedish King Magnus, renewed his alliance with the towns in order to regain Scania and Gothland. Denmark could not withstand such odds. When he recognized this, Waldemar went abroad, and thus

forfeited the esteem of his people. In the summer of 1368 the Hanseatic fleet plundered the coasts of Norway and Denmark almost unhindered. Sweden conquered Seania. The next year the Danish council of state decided on peace, regardless of the king's absence. The parties signed it at Stralsund, on May 24, 1370. This peace marks the zenith of the power of the Hanseatic League. Henceforth its word was law in the north. The League was to draw the income from the royal estates in Scania for fifteen years. It retained as pledges the fortresses of Helsingborg, Malmö, Skanoer, and Falsterbo, where it was to have garrisons for the same number of years. Its influence on the internal affairs of Denmark was the most important gain. The League won a share in the royal election. For in case of Waldemar's abdication or death, the rule of his successor was to be conditional on his recognition by the Hanseatic merchants.

There was nothing for Waldemar but to buy his return to the throne by submitting to these humiliating conditions. When he died in 1375, without male issue, the Danish princes elected Olaf, the son of his daughter Margaret by the Norwegian king, Hakon. But they diminished the royal prerogatives still more by the capitulation which they forced on the minor king. The Hanseatic League confirmed everything. The regent, Margaret, had a hard task. The extension of her regency to Norway on Hakon's death in 1380 did not improve her position. While the uncontrollable nobility usurped the crown domains, the progeny of Gerhard of Holstein brought about their recognition as hereditary feudal lords of Schleswig. In return, however, they granted the regent and king firm support against the native opposition. Thus it came that Margaret gradually found a firm footing and increasing recognition for her useful activity. Accordingly, when the young king died, in 1387, the magnates of Denmark called the regent to the throne. The Norwegians followed suit. This event made a great impression in Sweden, where Margaret's nephew, Albert of Mecklenburg, had forfeited all his esteem. A strong party arose to set Margaret on the Swedish throne also. It deposed Albert, who was soon in the power of the enemy, together with his sons. Only Stockholm, with its large population of German merchants, still opposed Margaret. The dukes of Mecklenburg sent out daring seafarers from Rostock and Wismar, who were to bring supplies to the city, and were consequently called Victualling Brothers. Using the favorable opportu-

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nity, they settled on Gothland. Thence they went on their piratical cruises, from which the Hanseatic League suffered much. In its own interest the League brought about a compromise in 1395. Albert of Mecklenburg and his sons regained their freedom, in return for which the king renounced the Swedish crown.

This made the union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms a fact. But it rested only on the person of Queen Margaret, and lacked every constitutional basis for the future. At her accession in Norway her great-nephew, Eric of Farther Pomerania, had been appointed her successor. For him the queen wished to secure the succession in her other two kingdoms. The estates of the three kingdoms accepted her plan, in 1396. Eric was solemnly crowned at Kalmar, in 1397, in the presence of the magnates of the three realms. With these Margaret agreed upon the Union of Kalmar. According to its terms the three kingdoms, while retaining their own constitutions, judiciary, and legislatures, were henceforth to live in peace and friendship. They were to oppose all external foes in unison, and be ruled by one king, whom the estates were to choose from the house of Eric of Pomerania, according to primogeniture. Now, from the first the united kingdom contained the seeds of disruption, because it was conditional on a royal election which barred the way to the attainment of a better and more independent position. The greatest gain fell once more to the Hanseatic League; for all its privileges with regard to filling the Danish throne were extended to the other kingdoms by the compact of union, which made all the treaties made by any member binding on all the members of the united kingdom. Naturally the League recognized the Union of Kalmar. Yet the old conflicts still continued to break out in the north. The Victualling Brothers became the scourge of the Baltic trade. They claimed part ownership in Gothland on the strength of the order Albert of Mecklenburg had once given them to provision the besieged city of Stockholm. Finally the Teutonic Order intervened by buying out Albert's claim, and rooting out the Victualling Brothers. The Order then took provisional possession of the island. A war of several of the northern Hanseatic cities against Novgorod was terminated in 1392 (PLATE V.¹).

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE V.

A contemporary Low German translation of the treaty of peace made in 1392 between Novgorod on the one hand and the messengers of Lübeck, Wisby, Dorpat, and Reval on the other:—

While the Hanseatic League was thus spreading the German power in the north, territorial and dynastic changes were occurring in the western Slav countries which were to bring Germany heavy losses. Since Russia had fallen under the Mongolian yoke, and Bohemia had become a seat of German culture under Charles IV., the conflict between the Slavs and Germans lay chiefly in the Polish principalities which had split off from the kingdom of Poland. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Poland began to develop a threatening power in but a few decades. At that time Wladislaw IV. Lokietek wrested Cracow from Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and Poland. Later he won back the other Polish districts on the Warthe and Vistula, with the exception of Pomerellen. Lord of Great and Little Poland, he was crowned in Cracow, in 1319, with

Hir ys gekomen her Johan Neibur van Lubeke, her Hynrik van Vlanderen unde her Godeke Cur von Godlande, van overze, van Rige her Tydeman van der Nienbrugge, van Darpte her Hermen Kegheller unde her Wynold Clynehrode, van Revale her Gerd Witte. Desse syn gewesen vor boden to Nougarden van des gemeynen copmans wegene van der Dudeschen hense, beyde van overze unde van dessiit der ze, unde hebben gesproken myt dem borchgreven van Nougarden Tymofei Jarjevitze, myt dem hertogen Mikiken Voderevitze unde myt gantzen gemeynen Nougarden, unde hebben geworven:

Wy hebben myt juw enen sundergen vrede, unde gy hebbet genomen unseme kopmanne syn gud to Nougarden den van Darpte unde ok van anderen stede[n] aff dessiit der see, boven den leydebref, den gy uns gesant hebben, udgesant van Wassile Ywanewitze dem borchgreven unde van dem hertogen Gregory Ywanevitze.

De borchgreve unde hertoge unde gantze Grote Nougarden overseghen de olden overseschen breve, unde vonden dar inne de cruskussinghe unde ere geleyde vor Nougarden, dat de overseschen stede unde de gemeyne Dudesche kopman hebben by syk myt Nougarden enen vrede unde breve. Unde dat gud, dat tor Narwe gepandet was, jegen dat gud heet Nougarden eren brodere, wedder gud nemen to Nougarden. De borchgreve unde hertoghen unde gemeyne Grote Nougarden hetten eren brodere nagescreven, dat gud wedder geven, de heten Fodere, Michale, Wassili, Therenti, Smone, Sidere unde Ylien kyndere. Do antworde her Johan Neibur unde de anderen vorbenomeden Dudesschen boden, se scholden syk vorweten myt den sakewolden unde myt ereme kopmanne umme dat gud, dat to der Narwe gepandet is van deme Nougardeschem kopmanne Fodere unde Michale unde myt den anderen eren kumpanen vorgescreven. Unde Nougarde schal syk vorweten myt den van der Narwe unde den ghenen, de ereme kopmanne dat gud genomen hebben.

Unde de[n] leydebref, den de borchgreve Wassily Ywanevitze unde de hertoge Gregori Ywanevitze besegelt hadden, den deden de Dudesche kopman Nougarde wadder.

Unde Nougarden sprekt umme den anderen bref, den beschop Olixie besegelt hefft unde de borchgreve Wassile Voderevitze unde hertoge Boghedane, den bref sal men her Johan Neibure unde syner selschop wedder don, unde is id, dat men den ersten bref vynt, den schal men wedder don; weret sake, dat mes nycht en vunde, so schal mes nummer dencken, noch de copman van overze, noch de kopman van desser siit der ze, scholen up den bref nummer dencken,

noch up Fodere, noch uppe Michale, noch upe alle ere ander kumpane nummer dencken, noch upe ere vrunde unde mage van des gudes wegene to ewegen tiden.

the pope's consent, as Wladislaw I. (1319-1333). With him the house of the Piasts became the champion of Polish nationalism, and grew to be a weighty factor in European politics by its opposition to Germany. He married his son Casimir to the daughter of the Lithuanian prince Gedimin. The latter gave hope of embracing Christianity. The family union of Poland and Lithuania was to result in great shifting of political power in the east to the detriment of Germany, and especially the Teutonic Order. Notwithstanding, Wladislaw's (Fig. 29) renewed attack on Pomerellen failed. Nor did the combined Polo-Lithuanian assault on Brandenburg meet with success. Moreover, the Silesian principalities of the Piasts

Unde wes dar geschen is van des kopmans wegene van beyden syden, dat schal alle dot wessen.

Unde wat hir na schut, so sal syk sakewolde myt sakewolden vorweten, unde eneme estlikeme schal men recht geven na der kruskussynge van beyden syden, als id van oldynges ys gewesen.

Wes her Johan Niebur sprak myt syner selschop, also van erer kerke wegene, dat ere hof vorbrande unde der Dudeschen erer kerken schach grot schade, dat gud, dat dar ut gestolen wart, schal men soken unde de deve; vynt men dat gud, dat schal men weder geven unde rechten de deve na der kruskussynge; vynt men der ok nycht, so wyl Nougarden dar unneemand umme wesen.

Vortmer her Johan Niebur myt syner selschop scholen soken na den genen, de vor der Nu slogen Matfeyden sone myt syner selschop unde en ere gud nemen; unde wes se van deme gude vynden, dat scholen de Dudeschen Nougarden weder geven na der kruskussynge; unde wurdet nychte vunden, so scholen de Dudeschen unneemand bliven.

Unde wor sik eyne sake vorhevet, dar schal men se endegen.

Unde wert, dat jenege sake upstunde tusschen Nougarden unde dem konynge van Sweden, edder dem orden unde den Nougardenen, edder myt dem bisschoppe van Ryge, edder myt dem bisschoppe van Darbt, edder myt den van der Narwe, edder dat rovers uper ze weren, van alle den saken sal de kopman nene nod liden.

Unde de kopman schal enen reynen wech hebben dor ere lant, to lande unde to watere, to Nougarden to komende unde to varende, sunder jenegerleie behendicheit unde hindernitze. Unde de Nougarden solen enen reynen wech hebben to Godlande unde vrig in des bisschoppen lande van Darbte, in syne stede unde slote, to lande unde to watere vrig to komende unde to varende to Darbte, sunder allerleie hindernitze. Unde de coplude scholen kopslagen van beyden siiden, also et van oldinges gewesen is.

De balke de over de Embeke licht vor Werbeke, dar scholen de Nougarden enen reynen wech hebben.

Van den saken unde alle saken, alze vorgescreven steyt, de borchgreve Tymofi Jurjevitze, hertoge Mikiti Foderevitze, de hebben dat crusse dar up gekusset vor gemeyne Nougarden, dat met holden schal, als id van oldinges gewest is na kruskussynge, sunder jenegerleie behendicheit. Des gelikes de boden van overze, her Johan Niebur van Lubcke, her Hinrik van Vlanderen unde her Godeke Kur van Godlande, her Tydeman van der Nebrugge van Ryge, her Hermen Keggeller und her Wynold Klynchrode van Darbt, her Gert Wytte van Revale, de hebben dat cruce gekusset na erer eghenen endege, alle dynt to holende na der olden kruskussynge, sunder jenegerleie behendicheit.

freed themselves from the Polish king's overlordship. They put themselves under the protection of King John of Bohemia. The latter now took part in the wars of the Teutonic Order against Poland and Lithuania, burning and ravaging far into their interior. The attempt of the Order to get possession of Masovia, Cujavia, and Dobrzyn led to a bitter struggle at the close of Wladislaw's reign. The bloody battle of Plowcze, in 1331, was a drawn one, but showed



FIG. 29. — Seal of Wladislaw Lokietek. Legend: *†*WLADISLAVS · DEI · GRĀ · DUX · CRACOVIE · SANDOMIR · SIRAD'LAN · CVIA. Wladislaw wears a ducal cap, and holds a standard bearing the Polish eagle.

to what lengths the national hatred of the two peoples had already gone.

At this time, to be sure, Poland was not strong enough to win in the national conflict. This appeared from the growing pressure from without, and the marked internal decay at the end of Wladislaw's reign. The state required strengthening within. The appreciation of this is the great merit of King Casimir (Fig. 30), whom his thankful people called the Great. He reigned from 1333 to 1370. He was a lover of peace, pious, though no slave of the

church, and was free from the fanatical patriotism of his father. Besides, he had a clear insight into the needs of his country, and was happy in the choice of his means. All of these qualities were well calculated to make Casimir I. the founder of a new state. He made a treaty with John of Bohemia, in 1335, at Wissegrad. John received the Silesian principalities of the Piasts, and recognized Casimir as king. The latter also made a truce with the Teutonic Order. When the Polish alliance with the Lithuanians came to an end, and the Poles had every prospect of conquest opened by the extinction of the ruling house in Galicia, Poland and the Order finally made the peace of Kalish, in 1343. Poland gave up its claims to Kulmland,



FIG. 30. — Seal of Casimir the Great of Poland. Obverse: †KAZIMIRVS DI · GRA · REX POLONIE C[ra]COVIE SADOM SIRAD LANC CVYAVLE · POMORAIE. Reverse: †KAZIMIRI DI · GRA · REG POLONIE · C[ra]COVIE SADOM · SIRAD LANC CVYAV · POMORAIE. (From Aug. von Essenwein.)

Michelan, and Pomerellen, while the Order relinquished Cujavia and Dobrzyn. Freed from his old enemy, Casimir could add Galicia and Volhynia to his kingdom in the following year. In organizing these two districts he emphasized the community of interests of the tribes united under his sceptre. Thus he had two codes, consisting of a mixture of customary and written law, drawn up for Great and Little Poland. The king established a royal supreme court at Cracow (Fig. 31), the decisions of which guaranteed a uniform development of national law. In like manner Casimir devoted himself to establishing the legal status of the many German settlements in his kingdom. He codified their law, which was generally that of the city of Magdeburg. He set up a supreme court for his German

subjects, which did away with appeals to Magdeburg, and freed Casimir's kingdom from annoying foreign dependence. Furthermore, the king showed great zeal in spreading the elements of a higher civilization among his people by attracting German immigrants, and by furthering trade and commerce. This he did by providing for the safety of the highways, and by making coins (Fig. 32), weights, and measures conform to a uniform standard. But Casimir paid particular attention to the peasantry, which the noble land-owners oppressed severely. However, even Casimir the Great did not succeed in checking the baneful development of those social conditions which had always been the great economic sore of the

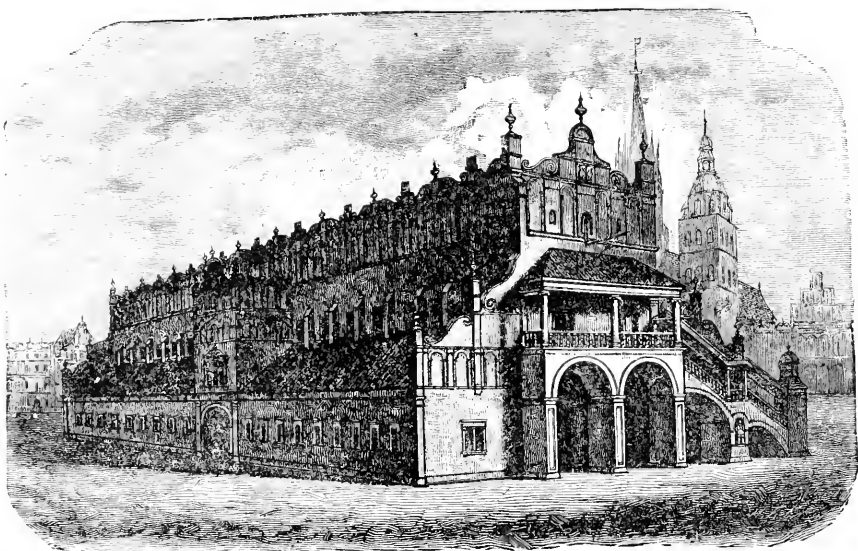


FIG. 31. — Drapers' Hall in Cracow. Built in 1358 by Casimir I.; restored in 1557.
(From Essenwein.)

country. While the great barons gradually rose to the rank of princes, the great mass of the lower nobility, the real fibre of the realm, sank to an inferior class. They made leagues, and combated the high nobility, and tried to augment their position by preying on the lower orders. The servitude of the peasantry thus became the curse of Poland; for it cut the largest part of the people off from every participation in the national life, thus depriving the latter of the one source which might have regenerated it.

The Slav has never desired or been able to develop independently a civic life. The results in this field in Poland are in part

the work of German settlers, and in part a product of all sorts of artificial means which ceased to be efficient as soon as the artificial care was withdrawn. In spite, therefore, of good beginnings, no extensive city life ever flourished in Poland. The peasants themselves had no possible way of becoming free, or even half free. This condition of servitude gave rise to evils which undermined the Polish state to such an extent that it finally succumbed to a national catastrophe.

The stimulating rule of Casimir appears on the intellectual side in his foundation of the University of Cracow in 1362. His sway seemed the more meritorious because the house of the Piasts became extinct in him, and was replaced by foreign dynasties. The king designated his nephew, Louis the Great of Hungary, as his successor. In 1355 the Polish magnates acknowledged him as heir presumptive, but with this reservation, that a change in the succession be permissible if Casimir should still have legitimate issue. Louis, too, had to make concessions. He surrendered the right to levy new taxes, promised to be satisfied with the old royal income, and to observe the laws and liberties of the kingdom. During a so-called progress the king and his train were no longer to live off the estates of the nobility and clergy free of charge. Furthermore, the nobility was henceforth to receive pay for foreign military service, — a measure which sadly restricted the royal power.

After Casimir had died, in 1370 (Fig. 33), Louis of Hungary received the crown in Cracow. But in 1374 he had to make further concessions to the magnates at Kasehau, which established the predominance of the nobility for the future. The privilege of bearing arms was restricted to the nobility. It alone was eligible to the higher offices of state, and its estates were freed from all taxes and dues. Louis of Hungary consented to all the demands of the nobility so as to secure the succession to one of his daughters. The question of succession, however, proved the source of new disasters.



FIG. 32. — Silver coin of Casimir the Great of Poland. Original size. Obverse: † GROSSI: CRACOVIENSES. Reverse: † KAZIMIRVS · PRIMVS † DEI GRACIA: REX · POLONI. This coin is a so-called Cracow groat, and was coined in the style of the Prague groat. (Berlin.)

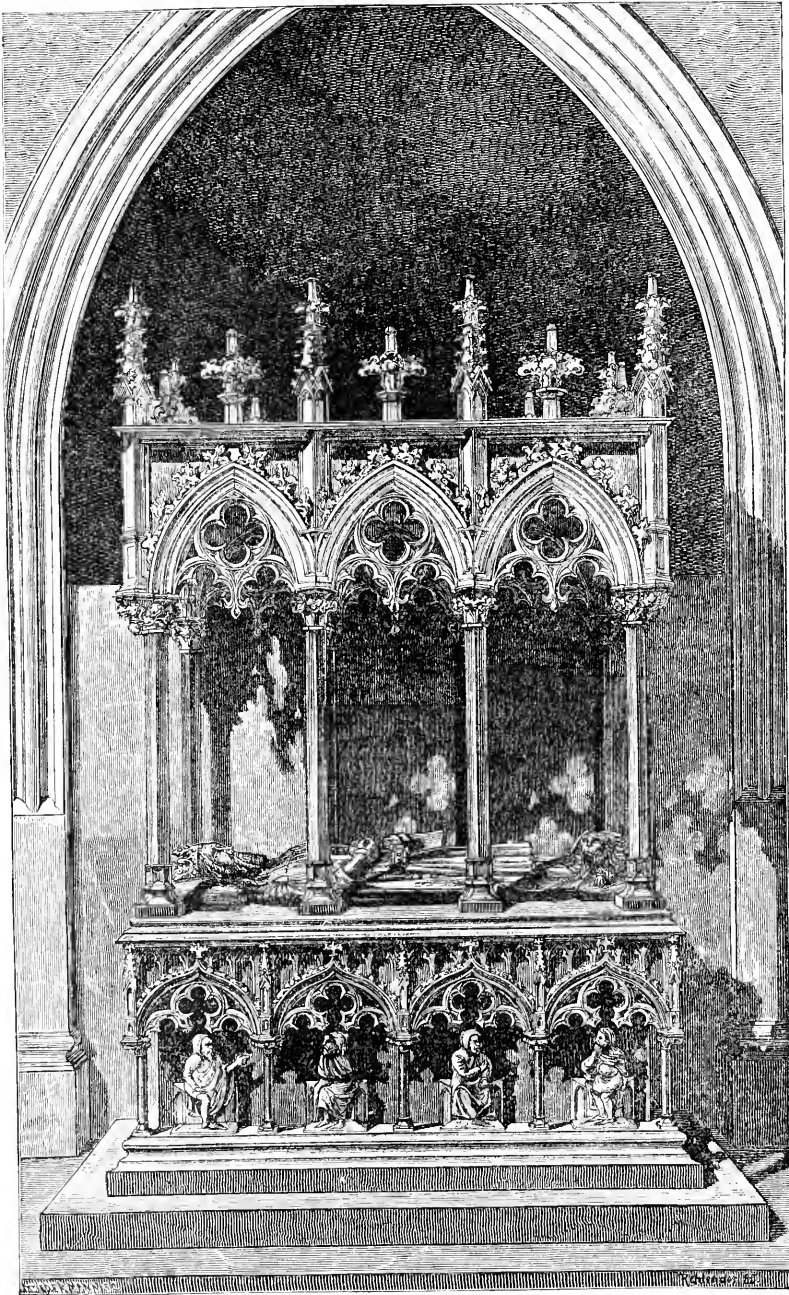


FIG. 33. — Tomb of Casimir the Great in the Cathedral of Cracow.

For Louis, who was often forced to leave the kingdom, transferred the regency to his mother, Elizabeth. Through her partiality to the Hungarians she drove the Polish vassals to open revolt. The citizens of the capital also rebelled, and murdered the hated Hungarian counsellors. The regent fled to Hungary. Masovia revolted from Poland, while robbery and feuds raged within. Nevertheless, Louis continued to solicit the succession of his oldest daughter, Maria, who was married to Sigismund, son to the emperor Charles IV., and margrave of Brandenburg. He had just won over the Polish magnates when he died in 1382.

Immediately bitter dissensions broke out. A large part of the nobility demanded of Maria, above all, that she should make Poland her home. They formed a confederacy to carry out their will. In reality they desired separation from Hungary, as did a party in that country. Savage party conflicts ensued in consequence. Finally the queen-widow, Elizabeth of Hungary, found means to win both parties. She advocated the succession of Hedwig, the younger daughter of Louis, to the Polish throne. After bitter party struggles, which brought civil war on some parts of the country, the parties reached an understanding on this basis. In the summer of 1384 Hedwig was crowned queen of Poland at Cracow. The ambitious and crafty Jagello, grand duke of Lithuania, soon sued for the hand of the queen, who was only thirteen years old. Besides the conversion of his people, he offered the consolidation of Lithuania and Poland. The great prospect which this opened to the Polish power in the east decided the clergy and nobility to accept Jagello's proposals. Two years later he was married to Queen Hedwig.

Early in 1386 the Lithuanian prince came, with his brilliant escort, to Cracow, where he received baptism at the hands of the archbishop of Gnesen (Fig. 34). Thereupon he was wedded to Hedwig, and crowned king of Poland. The conversion of the Lithuanians was still more external than that of Jagello, who adopted the name of Wladislaw II. (Fig. 35). Christian manners and thought had a hard struggle to introduce a higher culture among his warlike race. Also the political connection between Poland and Lithuania remained loose at first, although both countries were on the same social and economic footing. But there was this difference, that the Lithuanian peasant was a step more degraded than the Polish one. He was the slave of his lord, the *boyar*, and had no existence in law; while his master was oppressed

by the magnates of the land, to whom he had to render personal services and pay dues. As yet there was no city life in Lithuania. Foreigners alone carried on the trade and industries, especially German merchants, Russian immigrants, and thrifty Jews. Thus Lithuania was the immediate gainer by the union; whereas the military force of Poland received a considerable increase of power.

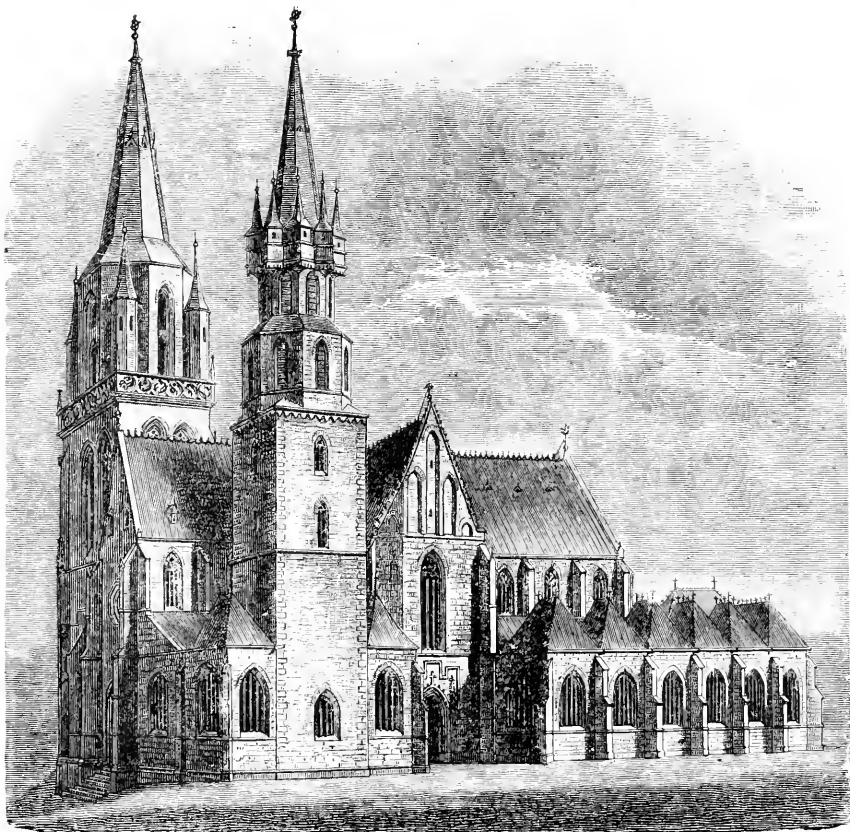


FIG. 34. — Cathedral of Cracow in its original style; built in the fourteenth to fifteenth century. (From Essenwein.)

The Polish nobility exacted important concessions from its foreign royal house. Henceforth the principle was to obtain that all feudal fiefs, dignities, and offices, as well as all castles and lieutenancies, should be given only to Polish-born noblemen. The nobility was to be paid in future for military service even within the realm. Their immunity from taxation, like that of the clergy, was confirmed. The jurisdiction over their subjects was to be theirs exclusively, but

every acre which their serfs tilled had to pay a rent of two groats to the king. Finally the magnates reserved the right to make every ensuing royal election conditional on terms of a similar nature. This measure made the Polish monarchy a prey to a demoralizing elective system which was to break up the constitution of the state.

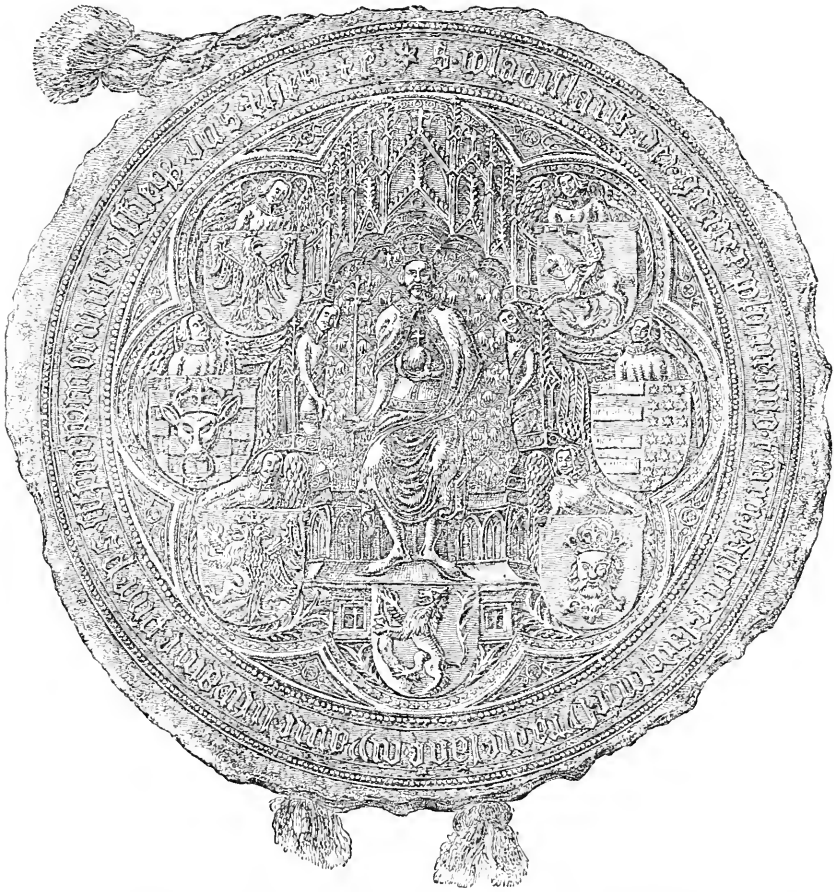


FIG. 35. — Seal of Wladislaw II, Jagello. Inscription : * S • wladislaus • dei • grā
• rex • polonie • nno [neenon] • t'rarū [terrarum] • ecovie [eracovie] • sādome
[Sandomirie] • syradie • lācie [Lancieie] • cuyaue • Litwani • pnceps • sūpm'
[supremus] • pomeranie • russieqz • dñs • t h'es [et heres] • tr'. (From Vossberg.)

The nobles, now the true rulers of the land, took every precaution to keep down all those elements in the state which might subvert their position. In especial they tried to coerce the cities, and exclude them from participation in state affairs. This was a severe blow to the Germans, whom the Poles and Lithuanians henceforth

ruined on principle. Notwithstanding their unanimity in this regard, there was at first no lack of intestinal strife between the united peoples. But the ill-success of his expedition against the Tatars forced Witold, the grand duke of the Lithuanians (Fig. 36), to give up the struggle, and draw closer to Poland again. In 1401 a treaty was made which regulated the mutual relations of the two



FIG. 36. — Seal of Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania. The heraldic shields refer to different parts of Witold's domain (that with the knight on horseback, Lithuania; with bear, Kieff; the others are uncertain). The legible part of the inscription reads: †sigillum alexandri . . . alias witowdi dna [divina] gra ducis . . . lithuanie . . . allie et cetera. There is a rosette between each pair of words except where . . . indicate omissions. (From Vossberg.)

countries. According to its terms the Lithuanians formally recognized Wladislaw as their lord, while the Polish magnates swore always to defend and protect Lithuania. Witold was to be grand duke of Lithuania for life. After his death the country should fall to the Polish crown. In case a change of rulers should occur before that event in Poland, the Polish magnates promised not to elect a

king without the previous knowledge of the grand duke. It is a striking fact that here, as on other occasions, the nobles, not the king, represented the Polish state.

Poland prospered in the reign of the first Jagello. By winning back Galicia, reducing to dependence Volhynia, Podolia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia, and subjugating the Ukraine, Poland became strong enough to regain its old districts to the west and south also. A Polish vassal, Duke Wladislaw of Oppeln, had mortgaged Dobrzyn to the Teutonic Order. This was the source of tedious struggles. Finally it led to a mighty collision, which resulted in a national war between the Germans and Slavs, and had a great influence on the



FIG. 37. — Tomb of Anna Jagello in the Cathedral of Cracow.

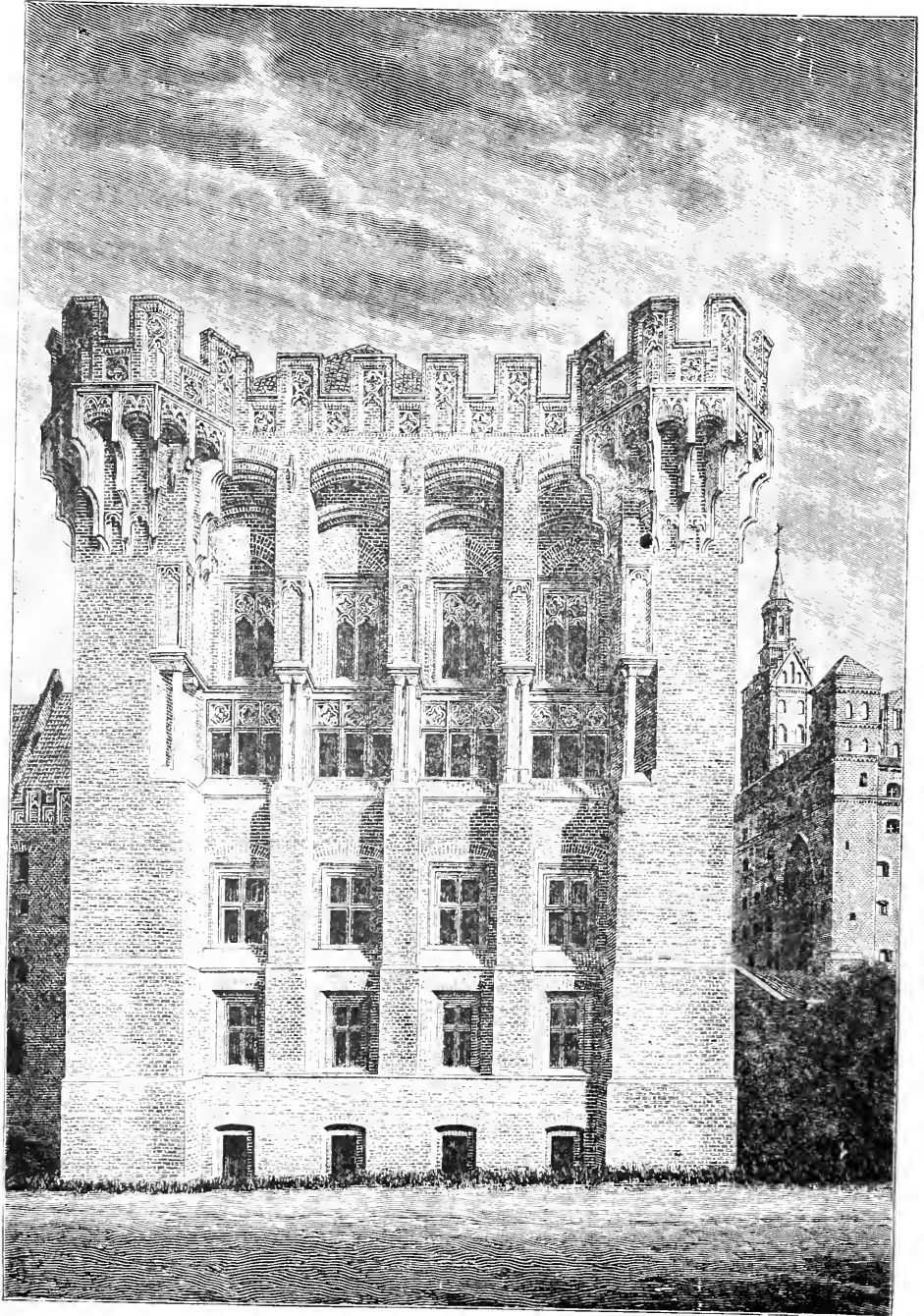
development of northeastern Europe. When the conciliatory Queen Hedwig died in 1399, she advised her consort to strengthen his right to the Polish throne by marrying a Piast. Wladislaw chose a granddaughter of Casimir, the child of one of his legitimized natural daughters. This princess, Anna (Fig. 37), Jagello raised to the Polish throne in 1403. His future activity lay chiefly in his conflict with the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Thus he organized the national opposition between the Germans and Slavs.

The remarkable state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia reached its zenith territorially and politically by the conquest of Pomerellen and the removal of its chief seat from Venice to Marienburg. Since

the beginning of the fourteenth century the Prussian cities had become very prosperous through their trade with Poland, the Baltic provinces, and Denmark. The chief cities of the Order lands were Thorn, Elbing, and Königsberg. But these were all outstripped by Dantzic, which, after the fall of Wisby, became the emporium of the north and one of its most beautiful cities. The Order gave its cities full liberty in all their relations abroad, so that they were almost independent. By becoming members of the Hanseatic League they enjoyed the commercial privileges which it had in England, Scandinavia, and Russia. To be sure, the two-fold allegiance of the cities led to conflicts at home, which gradually overcast the friendly relations between the lords of the land and their subjects. That was especially the case since the Order as such took part in trade, and experienced the inconvenient competition of its cities. Originally the Order had been content with having its own needs satisfied as profitably as possible. But its mercantile activity soon overstepped these bounds. Thus the office of the chief steward of the Order was gradually expanded into that of the superintendent of its wholesale trade, under whose direction the domestic and foreign agents attended to the purchase and sales of the Order. Its increasing trade gave its subjects cause for loud complaint. This change from a crusading to a mercantile order took place toward the close of the fourteenth century. It was brought about partly by the change which the Christianization of Lithuania and its consolidation with Poland had wrought in the political status of the Order.

Nor was the independent position which the Teutonic knights took in the ecclesiastico-political conflicts of the fourteenth century without influence on the change of the nature of their order. In contradistinction to the Templars and the Knights of St. John, it had remained true to its national spirit. In the great conflict between Louis the Bavarian and John XXII. and his successors, the Order had taken the part of the king, and stopped paying the Peter's Pence to the papacy. In its renewed conflict with Poland about Pomerellen the church openly favored the latter. It even went so far as to excommunicate the Order. After the peace of Kalish, in 1343, the papal court continued to support the Poles, while the Order had the favor of the emperor, who granted it Lithuania, Russia, and other lands by charter. Of course that was of no practical value. It only incited its enemies more to overthrow the proud Teutonic Order. The papacy set all sorts of intrigues against it on foot.

PLATE VI.



Facade of the dwelling of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the castle of Marienburg. Built in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The Avignonese court even brought suit against the Order, which, however, resulted in nothing. After all, the body emerged from the deadly struggle more honored and powerful. For public opinion was with it, particularly as it still fulfilled its duty as a military order by harassing the heathen Lithuanians year after year. A closer examination, however, of the course and success of its campaigns would have shown even then that the Order was only fulfilling the letter of its crusading duty. For it neither furthered nor even attempted the conversion of the Lithuanians. The Prusso-Lithuanian frontier was the scene of bloody carnage which only engendered increasing brutality on both sides. It is not surprising that the hounded Lithuanians bore deadly hatred to the Order. To avert destruction they rose in a general war under the sons of Prince Gedimin. They wasted Samland terribly, but were defeated near Rudau in 1370 by the marshal of the Order, Henning Schindekopf. Thereafter they restricted themselves to the defensive. In 1379 the Order made a peace with Kieystut, the last surviving son of Gedimin, which finally insured lengthened quiet to the frontier.

About this time, Winrich von Kniprode (Fig. 38) ruled over the Order in Marienburg (PLATE VI.). He combined in the happiest manner the duties of a knight of the Order with the obligations of the ruler. His special care was that his brethren might be able to do justice to the entirely altered claims which they were called upon to satisfy as the officials, or rather co-regents, of the complex state. He introduced the study of theology and law. Moreover, he watched carefully over the relaxed morals and discipline in the Order by instituting regular visitations of its individual conventual houses. Thus he made the Castle of Marienburg not only the centre of the government, but also the point around which the intellectual and moral life of the Order centred. Following the example of his most enlightened predecessors, Winrich paid special attention to agriculture. He relieved the peasantry of unpaid labor with the plough and cart. The cities of the Order rose to their highest pitch of prosperity. Their double allegiance to the Hanseatic League and the Order appears in their



FIG. 38. — Silver shilling of Winrich von Kniprode, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Original size. Obverse: † MAGST [Magister]. WYNRICVS · PRIMVS. Reverse: MONETA · DVORVM [dominorum.] PRUCI [Prussiae]. (Berlin.)

taking part in the League's war with Waldemar IV. of Denmark (see p. 82), while the Order as such refrained. However, it proved the main bulwark against the Scandinavian attacks on the German Baltic provinces. The salient feature of the Order's policy was its opposition to Poland. That gave it its importance in general politics. As the enemy of Poland, it was indispensable to Charles IV. Its adherence to the emperor, in turn, brought it into conflict with the church, which tried to break its proud ecclesiastical independence. The conversion of the Lithuanians by the Poles proved fatal to the Order, because it made the fulfilment of its original object impossible. At the same time the union of Lithuania and Poland under an inimical race entirely shifted the balance of power in the East, while the simultaneous decline of the power of the house of Luxemburg under King Wenceslaus and the Great Schism of the church deprived the Order of its main stays.

Like the Teutonic Order, the Swiss Confederation, which grew up in the course of the fourteenth century, was a state within a state. In repeated conflicts with the Hapsburgs, the unassuming civil organism exercised an inspiring influence far beyond its bounds, on account of its political and social principles. The army of Leopold of Austria had overrun the Swiss cantons because of their allegiance to Louis the Bavarian. But the Swiss defeated the Austrians in the pass of Morgarten on November 15, 1315. Elated at their victory, they renewed their confederacy in the following December, and had their old charter confirmed by King Louis soon after. The House of Hapsburg had to recognize the freedom of the Confederation, and give up all its remaining rights over the cantons. Lucerne also freed itself from this house by joining the Confederation in 1332, which united the four cantons around Lake Lucerne. In consequence of internal struggles, which broke the rule of the prominent families, and secured the craft guilds in a share of the town government, the powerful city of Zurich joined the Swiss Confederation in 1351. In the next year Glarus and Zug followed. The accession of Bern in 1353 was of particular importance. The attempts of the Hapsburgs to stay the growth of the Confederation had no success. Through the mediation of the emperor, Charles IV., they had to conclude a truce in 1368, which did not, however, mitigate the old hostility. The internal dissensions continued, chiefly with the clergy, which still stood by Austria in great part. The outcome of these

struggles was the so-called Priests' Charter (*Pfaffenbrief*), which was drawn up in 1370. This charter imposed the oath of allegiance to the Confederation on all within its bounds. It excluded all foreign jurisdictions, save the episcopal one in matters of marriage and other spiritual cases. It likewise contained stringent regulations for the maintenance of the public peace within the bounds of the confederate territory. The charter marks a decided step toward securing the absolute rule of the Swiss Confederation within its boundaries. But it brought nearer the clash with Austria, of which the immediate occasion was the support which Leopold III. gave to Count Rudolf of Kyburg in his hostile measures against the Swiss. Unsupported and poorly armed, the peasants utterly routed the Austrian knights on July 9, 1386, at Sempach, northwest of Lucerne. Leopold was left dead on the field. It was with this battle that legend connects the hardly authentic story of Arnold von Winkelried, who made an opening in the enemy's ranks by grasping all the Austrian pikes he could reach and burying them in his own breast; the Swiss rushed on to victory over his dead body. After an insecure truce, which the Swabian League had brought about, the war broke out again in 1388. On April 9 the Swiss completely defeated the Austrians at Näfels. In the treaty of peace which followed, the Austrians formally recognized the Swiss Confederation.

CHAPTER V.

THE NATIONAL DECAY AND POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION OF ITALY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

HENRY VII. of Luxemburg had sought to restore the connection between Germany and Italy. His attempt to introduce public order in the latter by a renewal of the empire had been a complete failure. More than that, the immediate results of his interference were fatal to both countries. For, on the one hand, the disappointed Guelfs and Ghibellines became more hostile to each other. Besides, the failure of Henry's schemes embittered the national hatred between Germans and Italians. And that put a new weapon into the hands of the enemies of Germany. The Anjous of Naples could easily gratify their ambition now on the pretext of leading the opposition to foreign rule. In their interest and service the papal court renewed the great conflict between empire and papacy. The pope made the most determined resistance to King Louis the Bavarian, so as to make German interference in Italy impossible for all time. For the blind policy of the empire contributed essentially to that political disorganization to which Italy fell a prey.

King Robert of Naples (1309-1343) had been the winner through the last two Roman expeditions of the German kings. Nevertheless, the Ghibellines constantly disputed the predominance in Italy to which he aspired. By getting Florence and Naples under his protection or signory, Robert could secure the superiority of the Guelfs in Tuscany and Lombardy. Thus for a number of years he appeared the leader of that party against the Ghibellines. The latter were supported by Aragon, which antagonism at times caused a fierce conflict at sea. However, Robert's rights as papal vicegerent were not recognized in Rome or in the Papal States. The utter degradation of Rome resulting from the reigning lawlessness grieved the king the more as he was the patron of Petrarch¹ (1304-

¹ Francesco Petrarca.

1374), and was influenced by the brilliant light of ideality which the great poet spread over the ruins of Rome's greatness. The sunken population of Rome was bound to form a new conception of the place of the Eternal City in the intellectual world, in view of the impressive coronation of the poet laureate on the steps of the Capitol. It is significant that the church was not mentioned with a word, either as an intellectual or moral force. This did not fail of political reaction. For King Robert's influential position rested in good part on his close connection with the church. Consequently the baneful dissensions which broke out in Naples on their part effected the church, and hastened its fall.

The death of Robert of Naples was the signal for new disturbances all over Italy. While in Florence a democratic uprising threw off the Neapolitan yoke, Naples itself succumbed to passionate court broils and embittered party strife. Robert's successor was his daughter Joanna I. (1343-1382). Though refined in mind, and a patron of the arts, she was immoderately licentious, and used to giving way to her sudden whims and passions. For dynastic reasons, she had been married to a scion of the Hungarian branch of the Anjous, Andrew, an uneducated person, who had been created Duke of Calabria. Soon the Hungarian train of the king-consort was at sword's-points with the native favorites of Joanna. This hostility was fed by two cousins of the queen, Charles of Durazzo, the husband of her sister Maria, and Louis of Tarentum. Public opinion credited them with the assassination of Andrew at Aversa in 1345. The circumstances of the deed made the complicity of Joanna very probable. A savage family feud among the Anjous resulted. To gain support for the internal war, Joanna married Louis of Tarentum. He got possession of Calabria, and strove to obtain all the rights of a king. Meanwhile his ambitious brother, Charles of Durazzo, tried to pave the way to the conquest of Naples for King Louis of Hungary. King Louis's plan was to win for Hungary the rule over the lands surrounding the Adriatic. The remarkable occurrences in Rome furthered his schemes.

These are connected with the name of the 'last of the Roman tribunes,' Cola di Rienzi. He was a talented and aspiring youth, to whom the grandeur of republican Rome revealed itself, in its remaining monuments, through the misery and depravity of the city. Mocked at first as a crack-brained visionary, the youth gradually imparted his enthusiasm to the Romans, and awoke in them an in-

definable longing for improvement in their status. The conditions favorable to a realization of Cola's schemes appeared sooner than could have been expected. In 1343 he went to Avignon with an embassy for the recall of Pope Clement VI. (1342-1352). He roused the attention of the highest dignitaries at the papal court by his impressive picture of Rome's condition, and his fine flattery, which made the pope seem called upon to rescue the city. For a long time the court honorably detained Rienzi; and, at the return of the embassy, the pope made him a city notary, and encouraged him to further services in behalf of the church. Arrived in Rome, Rienzi soon began a systematic agitation against the Colonnas and the rule of the nobility, for the restoration of the republican freedom of Rome. By his transporting harangues, and his explanation of the Capitoline inscriptions pointing to the former power of the senate, Cola di Rienzi deepened the prevalent conception in the Roman mind of the continuation of the Roman Empire. At the same time he was bent on acting as a true son of the church, and an obedient servant of the distant pope. The threatened classes underestimated the power of the man of the people. His repute increased rapidly, while the Neapolitan affair and the threatened Hungarian invasion only heightened the excitement of the populace.

In the summer of 1347 Rienzi used the absence of the nobility for a master stroke. He summoned the Roman people to the Capitol, and, with the assistance of the papal vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, carried it along with him to the enthusiastic resolution of a thorough reorganization of the state after the antique type (Fig. 39). The people conferred on him, as their tribune, the administration of affairs. They preserved the show of papal consent by co-ordinating the papal legate with him. The aristocratic faction under Stephen Colonna returned too late to prevent the democratic revolution. They had to recognize it or flee. At first Rienzi's rule proved a great success. Organized into militia troops, the citizens were always ready to protect their young freedom. They were willing to obey Rienzi, who ruled like a dictator, but without detriment to the republican constitution of Rome. The very idea, however, of the Roman Republic, a democratic formulation of the empire, involved the tendency to expand and demand recognition abroad. Accordingly, Rienzi's adherents aimed at a republican revival in the other parts of the peninsula, and a national unification of Italy under their direction. Circumstances seemed



FIG. 39. — Plan of Rome in fourteenth century. Miniature in the *Livre d'Heures* of the Duke of Berry (died 1416). This book is Italian in origin. (In the library of the Duc d'Anjou.)

The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol is seen near the end of the aqueduct; to the right of it, the Colosseum; below, the basilica of Constantine; to the right of the Colosseum is the Palatine, which looks like a mediæval castle with its small towers, battlements, and buttresses. Above the Palatine the Lateran quarter, with the Basilica S. Croce, the *amphitheatrum castrense*, the Baptistry of St. John, and the Basilica of St. John, near the city wall. Passing along the wall from this point to the right, we come upon the Porta S. Paolo, with the Pyramid of Sestius and the church of St. Paul outside the Walls. Directly below this gate lies the Aventine, the island in the Tiber, the Borgo: on the right bank of the Tiber the Vatican and St. Peter's. At the left is the Campus Martius, with the Pantheon in the centre; above the Pantheon, the Capitol; and near the Senatorial Palace a great gallows. The left of the field is occupied by the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills; with the Torre Milizia, the Baths of Diocletian, the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore; upon the space left white stood the figures 'Castor and Pollux,' the colossi of the Quirinal, which were regarded throughout the Middle Ages as the work of Phidias and Praxiteles.

exceptionally favorable. Naples was torn by dissensions, and severely threatened by the attack of Louis of Hungary. The popular party ruled in Florence and Naples. The pope himself was far away in Avignon; and France, the protector of the papacy, was nearing a crisis through the feudal reaction, and had not yet revived from the results of the battle of Crécy. The German kingdom, with which public opinion associated the Roman empire, was on the eve of a new war of succession. Unquestionably, Cola di Rienzi followed out instinctively a tendency inherent in the whole Italian people, when, as the "Serene Liberator of the Roman Republic," he sent summons to all the Italian rulers, princes, and cities to a national parliament. It was to meet on the Capitol, and to free Italy, and unite it into a national confederacy. Of course the Eternal City itself was called to be its head. The excellent order which had reigned in Rome under Rienzi's rule recommended his plan even to those whose interests opposed it. Consequently his summons to a national parliament found a good reception on the whole. Those concerned promised to send deputies, and approving messages came even from the pope and from Emperor Louis. Joanna of Naples declared her willingness to submit with her enemies to the arbitration of the parliament. King Louis of Hungary and Charles of Durazzo sought alliance with it. Most of the Italian cities sent embassies, and Petrarch proclaimed the glory of Rome and Italy to a wondering world.

Cola di Rienzi had reached the zenith of his career. But now his movement came to a stand-still. For only twenty-five cities were represented in the national parliament. And then the tribune, intoxicated with success, forsook the ground of reality, and gave way ever more to a fantastic symbolism, which after all was only calculated to satisfy his unbounded vanity. His inability to achieve practical results displeased and disappointed even his immediate followers. They took exception to the way he had of putting himself in the place of the Roman people and republic. For did it not look like a step toward a future imperial coronation when Rienzi, on August 15, 1347, was solemnly crowned with five wreaths, and was presented with a sceptre by the bishops? He gave the nobility to understand that their lives were in his hands, which made a still worse impression. In September he invited the heads of the Orsini and Colonnas to a magnificent banquet, only to have them arrested and imprisoned. The next day he had them led seemingly to execution.

In the nick of time he announced to excited multitudes that he pardoned the condemned, and would accept them as confederates after they had confirmed by oath the laws of the republic. The nobility, however, could never forgive Rienzi their humiliation, nor the people his weak clemency. The papal court, in especial, entertained a less favorable opinion of him after this episode. It feared the destruction of its own power in Rome. All the other Italian rulers felt none the less threatened, inasmuch as the movement spread abroad since the tribune had granted the rights of Roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of Italy.

Thus Rienzi's enemies finally combined under the papal cardinal legate, Bertrand de Deux. He was to induce the tribune to recant, and to restrict himself to Rome. In case of disobedience, the legate was to depose him, and to restore the old senatorial or aristocratic city government. But the tribune was far from submitting. Had he not utterly routed the aristocratic army under the very walls of Rome on November 20, 1347, with the help of the enthusiastic citizen army? After this success, Rienzi's ambition knew absolutely no bounds. He estranged his adherents through haughtiness and ingratitude. His foes he outraged by inconsiderate oppression, and he threw away the favor of the masses by senseless extravagance. The papal legate warned and threatened him in vain. Rienzi's connection with Louis of Hungary only made matters worse. The lawless Neapolitan count of Minorbino came to Rome to enlist mercenaries for Louis. When Rienzi, after having indulged him, tried to stop him, he allied himself with all the tribune's enemies. The attempts of Rienzi to crush the opposition only hastened the catastrophe. On December 15, 1347, the tribune forsook the Capitol for the strong walls of the castle of St. Angelo. Cardinal Bertrand and the nobility overthrew his glorious republic, and restored the aristocratic form of government. Rienzi was to be sentenced as a rebel and heretic. But he fled in March, 1348, and joined King Louis of Hungary, who was just marching toward Naples.

Louis's attack was surprisingly successful. The desertion from Joanna was almost universal. The guilty queen fled with her treasures to France, where the barons placed her in safe keeping. Her consort, Louis of Tarentum, turned towards Tuscany. The Hungarian victory only brought new horrors upon the land. At a banquet King Louis had Joanna's brother-in-law, Charles of Durazzo, assassinated. He led the members of the royal family captives to

Hungary. After having appointed German adventurers as his lieutenants in the kingdom of Naples, he returned to his native country. Encouraged thereby, Joanna and Louis of Tarentum came back to Naples. The queen had made peace with the Provençal nobles, and had sold Avignon and the district of Venaissin to the pope, thus obtaining the means to prolong the struggle. Moreover, the college of cardinals acquitted her of complicity in her husband's murder, and legitimized her non-canonical marriage with Louis of Tarentum. But when Louis of Hungary returned to Italy, Joanna's luck turned again. She took refuge in the fortress of Gaeta. Still, papal mediation brought about a compromise between Louis and Joanna in the autumn of 1350. By its terms a court appointed by the pope was to investigate once more the death of Louis's brother, Andrew. Naturally its sentence was favorable to the queen. Louis now had no scruples against consenting to a final treaty of peace. This left Joanna in possession of the kingdom of Naples, but conferred Salerno and the castle of San Angelo, at Naples, in perpetuity on Louis. Now the Hungarian bands finally withdrew. Their place was taken by thousands of pilgrims, who came to enjoy the advantages and proffers of grace which Pope Clement VI. had promised all those who would visit the Roman Jubilee in 1350. At the price of the attendant material advantages to them, the Romans did not object in the least when the pope changed the municipal constitution, and wiped out the last traces of the glorious Republic. The tribune himself had not as yet given up his cause. Oppressed by the papal ban, he had roamed about in the southern mountains, still filled with a fantastic belief in his calling. He went north in disguise, and appeared in Prague, to the wonder of all, in 1350. Then he promised King Charles IV. to lead him to Rome and to have him crowned emperor. The calculating king gave no heed to such mad proposals. On the contrary, he imprisoned Rienzi, and appealed to the pope for further measures against the heretic. At his order the archbishop of Prague kept Rienzi in close confinement for a year. Finally Charles IV. felt some sympathy for the extravagant visionary, and wished at least to save him from the death which awaited him at Avignon. But at last Rienzi volunteered to be led before the pope. He was fetched to Avignon in 1352, where Clement VI. commissioned the cardinals to examine his case. But the change which Clement's death, in December, 1352, caused in the pontificate, wrought in the tribune's favor. During his trial he had

shown great bravery, and stood up for his ideals with the spirit and enthusiasm of the martyr. That did not fail of its effect on the new pope, Innocent VI. (1352-1362). The fact that the most horrible disorder again prevailed in Rome since the tribune's overthrow was of great advantage to him in his present situation. The noble factions filled town and country with dismay, while the Hungarian and German mercenaries of Louis of Hungary spread plunder and rapine in spite of the conclusion of peace. In face of such horrors the quiet and security of Rienzi's rule seemed doubly attractive, so that many even of his foes had reason to yearn for his return.

Thus the papal court conceived the idea of using the power which the tribune still exercised for its own ends. When Innocent appointed Cardinal Albornoz, in the autumn of 1353, as legate and vicar-general to Italy, commanding him to restore order and the papal rule in the States of the Church, he associated Cola di Rienzi with him. Albornoz met with unexpected success. Supported by Florence, Siena, and Perugia, he subjugated the mischievous barons in the north of the Papal States. Then he sent the former tribune ahead to Rome, as papal senator. On August 1, 1354, Rienzi made his triumphal entry at the head of a few hundred mercenaries. But the nobles refused obedience, and repulsed his attack on the strong position of the Colonnas at Palestrina. This defeat estranged Rienzi's mercenaries from him. But when he had their leader, Fra Moreale, executed without the shadow of a trial, he completely enraged the band. Now he thought he could only protect himself against the rising opposition by a reign of terror. To get money the tribune levied oppressive taxes, and the threatening signs of insubordination led him to surround himself with a body-guard. But on October 8, 1354, his fate overtook him. Brettone, the brother of Moreale, paraded the streets with an armed band, calling upon all to inflict fitting punishment on the traitor who had dared to weigh down the people with new taxes. The mob soon surrounded Rienzi in his palace on the Capitol. His appeals no longer had the slightest effect. When the mob tried to force an entrance by means of fire, he succeeded in escaping disguised. But the furious mob recognized him, and beheaded him on the spot where Moreale had suffered death. Then they dragged his trunk through the streets, burnt it in the mausoleum of Augustus, and scattered his ashes to the winds. Such was the end of the short dream of republican freedom and ancient Roman glory.

The idea of a national Italian state, which Cola di Rienzi had tried to realize, was for a long time forgotten. On the other hand, all the powers which his scheme had threatened joined closer together to repress similar popular demonstrations in the future. This applies both to the papacy and especially to the dynasties of Middle



FIG. 40. — Condottieri, from a fresco by Luca Signorelli (1441-1524), in Mont' Oliveto Maggiore, near Siena.

Italy. For after the inglorious ending of Charles IV.'s Roman expedition in 1355, even the most ardent Ghibellines concluded that nothing was to be gained from that quarter. They preferred to establish the best possible relations with the representative of the pope, Cardinal Albornoz. They accordingly did homage to him, and

recognized the sovereignty of the church, at least theoretically. They now exercised such rights as they had hitherto wielded independently, in the name and with the consent of the pope. In return for rent and services, the papacy legalized the rule of these usurpers. Although they reigned henceforth as papal vicars, they remained in fact practically independent of Avignon. The cities took the same course. Their rulers recognized the pope as their sovereign, though they paid little heed to him otherwise. But to have attained even this was no small credit to Cardinal Albornoz. Practically, however, it improved the country very little. For the continuation of the wars between the petty Italian states did not tend to stop the turbulence of the mercenaries. Under their recruiting officers and leaders, the *condottieri* (Fig. 40), they formed a sort of wandering military state. They were ready to help any one for pay and plunder, but when unemployed they seized their sustenance wherever they could. In vain both emperor and pope tried to rid themselves of these lawless bands by using them against the Turks. They preferred to stay at home, where the most daring *condottieri* later got possession of certain petty states.

In the interest of the house of Luxemburg, Charles IV. had long urged the papacy to return to Rome. He went personally to Avignon in 1365 to induce Urban V. (1362-1370) to adopt his plan. The growth of sects, too, within the church warned it to take united action. But this could only emanate from Rome. The successes of Albornoz created the material possibility. So Urban V. (Fig. 41) journeyed to Rome, everywhere heralded with joy by the people, who thought the end of their trials at hand. Albornoz hastened to do Urban reverence. But the cardinal died before Rome had been reinstated in its old rights. On October 18, 1367, the pope entered the city in triumph, and took his seat in the Vatican. But the new glory of Rome was of short duration. What good did the general homage of the powers do Urban while the ruined and unhealthy city could not furnish the necessities of the papal court and its numerous hangers-on? To make matters worse, the pope met opposition wherever he tried to make his authority felt in the Papal States. In the autumn of 1370, therefore, he returned to the more comfortable residence of Avignon. No one regretted his leaving, for all had been disappointed in his coming. But this discouraging experience furthered the estrangement of Italy from the papacy. The consciousness that the French had

really ruled them through the papacy, now created a keener opposition in the Italians to that nation, which made it wish to be rid of the foreigner. Thus a national league was formed in 1375. It consisted of Milan, which was then ruled by the Visconti, a race of *condottieri*; of Florence, and the cities of Romagna and the Marches. Gradually Pisa, Lucca, and Arezzo, and eighty other cities joined the league. It showed its anti-papal tendency by confiscating the papal estates. Remarkably enough, Rome did not join the league. There were several reasons for its attitude. The city feared that a separation of the papacy from its old seat would rob this also of its

universal importance. Besides, the ruling party in Rome could not maintain itself without the pope's favor. Lastly, Rome was jealous of Florence, which had risen to the head of the league. The more urgently did the Romans demand the final return of the papal court, because that alone could insure their city its old-time pre-eminence.

The successor of Urban V., Pope Gregory XI. (1370–1378), appreciated the serious danger in which the temporal power of the papacy stood. While he finally persuaded Florence and its allies to come to terms by inflicting



FIG. 41. — Head of a statue of Pope Urban V.
(Museum of Avignon.)

the severest ecclesiastical censures on them, he prepared for his return to Rome. A solemn embassy from that city, accompanied by St. Catharine of Siena, had once more bidden him most urgently to come. Gregory sailed from Marseilles, and landed at Corneto at the close of 1376. On January 17, 1377, he entered Rome. He forthwith concluded that he had undertaken the impossible. The league persisted in its opposition. Everywhere the uprising triumphed, and an attempt of the papal troops to reduce Viterbo to obedience ended in defeat. In Rome itself trouble was brewing. So Gregory retreated to Anagni after a few months. His death in

March, 1378, brought new disasters on the church. The national enmity among the cardinals, between the Italians who desired to stay in Rome and the French who wished to return to Provence, brought on a double election, which resulted in the Great Schism of the next half-century.

Italy suffered severely in consequence. For the protection which Queen Joanna of Naples gave the French anti-pope, Clement VII., in Avignon, offered the Roman pope, Urban VI. (1378-1389), the desired opportunity of deposing the queen. He addressed a bull of excommunication to her, which proclaimed her deposition. King Louis of Hungary gladly took this chance of reverting to his old schemes of conquest. For these he won over even Charles the Small of Durazzo, whom Joanna had designated as her successor. He threatened Naples with a destructive invasion. Thereupon Joanna besought France for help, adopting Duke Louis of Anjou as her son and successor, the latter with Clement's consent. But fortune soon deserted the queen. From Rome, where he had received the Neapolitan crown from Urban VI., Charles of Durazzo invaded Naples, defeated its army at San Germano on June 26, 1381, and entered the capital in triumph. Joanna had retreated to Castelnuovo with the remnants of her adherents. After a short siege, she surrendered to the enemy. Charles at first gave his captive much freedom, in the hope that she would drop Louis of Anjou, and recognize him as her successor. But the queen continued her enmity, and even stood in secret communication with Anjou. On learning this, Charles had her strangled on May 22, 1382, in the castle at Muro.

Joanna's death did not improve the state of affairs in Naples. For, although Charles of Durazzo had been crowned king of Naples during her lifetime, Louis of Anjou still persisted in prosecuting his supposed rights. At the head of a mighty army he pressed forward. Charles avoided him on account of his own meagre forces, and in the hope that the Anjou's means would give out. But the struggle was decided by the latter's death at Bari in 1384. His army soon disbanded. The French knights increased the wandering adventurers who harassed the country, while the cosmopolitan mercenaries took service with the Italian princes and cities. But, although Charles of Durazzo was now generally recognized as king, Naples did not find rest, because a bitter conflict broke out between Urban VI. and Charles. For even after the death of Louis of Anjou, the warlike

pope remained with his army in the fortified town of Nocera. From there he interfered in the government, and tried to bring part of Naples into the hands of his nephew, Francesco Prignano, on the ground of concessions formerly wrung from Charles. Consequently, the latter tried to oust him from the country, while the cardinals demanded his return to Rome. Urban VI., thereupon, had the ring-leaders imprisoned, and tried to force them by torture to make a confession about a suspected conspiracy. This act heightened the general indignation at his despotic rule, and made everybody take the part of the Neapolitan king. Thereupon Charles besieged Nocera, and put a price on the pope's head. The citadel of the city was about to fall when Urban cut his way out of it in the summer

of 1385, and escaped to the Adriatic, and then by sea to Genoa. When the cardinals whom he held in captivity tried to escape, he had them executed. On account of the indignation of the Genoese, the pope had to withdraw, and returned to Naples in 1388. There renewed party conflicts seemed to open for him more favorable prospects of realizing his schemes.

Florence became the centre of political and intellectual life in Central Italy about the middle of the fourteenth century. Originally an aristocratic community,



FIG. 42. — Dante Alighieri. Florentine medallion of the fifteenth century. Original size. (Berlin.)

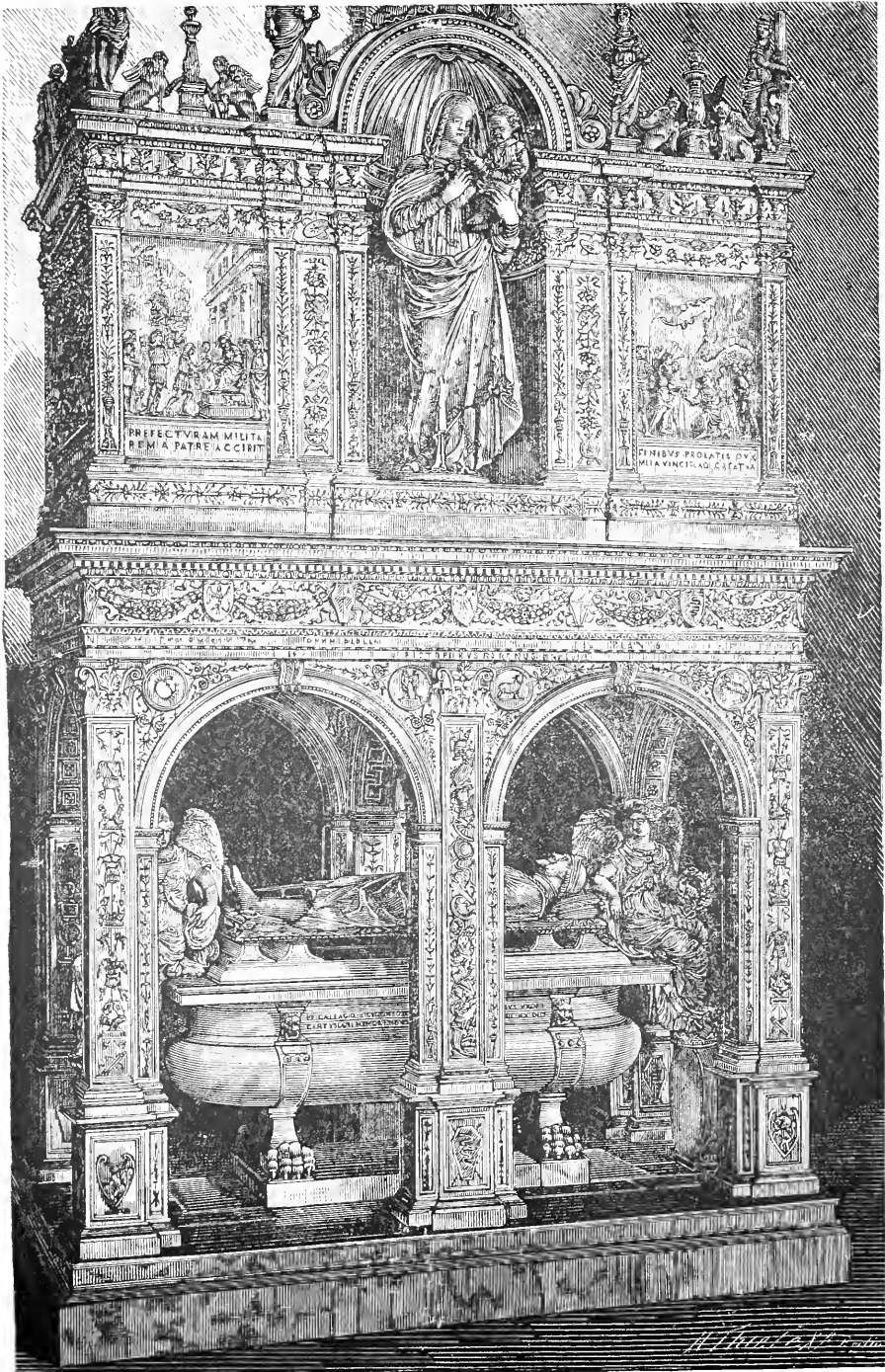
Florence had been the scene of unusually severe struggles between the Ghibellines and Guelfs at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. These had resulted in the complete victory of the Guelfs. Now this party split up into two hostile groups, the radicals, or Blacks (*Neri*), and the conservatives, or Whites (*Bianchi*). To the latter belonged the poet, Dante Alighieri (Fig. 42) (1261–1321), who had to go into exile with his associates after the triumph of their foes in 1302. He ended his days in Ravenna, at the hospitable court of the Malatesta of Rimini, because he was too proud to humiliate himself before his enemies by acknowledging a fictitious crime. In the midst of these broils the mass of the people, which had hitherto been excluded from

the government, attained greater political importance by organizing itself in twelve guilds. Within these a cleavage gradually took place. The richer guilds, such as the money-changers, dealers in foreign cloth, furriers, woollen-drapers, and others, rose above their poorer brethren, and got the direction of public affairs into their hands. But they abused their power, just as the nobility had done before them. The vicegerent of the lord (*signore*) of Florence, King Robert of Naples, attempted to use these troubled affairs to make himself master of the city. The general opposition thwarted the attempt, which resulted in the establishment of a thoroughly democratic town government. But the increasing hostility between the upper middle class, or *popolo crasso*, and the lower class, or *popolo minuto*, soon renewed the old difficulties and the changeful party government. To remain in possession of power, the Guefts introduced the singular institution of the so-called 'admonitions.' By means of these, every official or citizen suspected of Ghibelline sentiments could be heavily fined, as well as deprived of his office or even life. The institution was the more baneful as it could be used to wipe out private wrongs. That finally caused general dissatisfaction; although the Guefts had put Florence at the head of the Italian League, and maintained its position also against the papacy. Thus, not until the outside dangers were removed did the opposition gain a firmer footing, and strive after a change in the oligarchical form of government. In 1378 a few of the eminent Florentine families tried to effect a revolution in their own favor with the help of the lower classes. These were disgusted at the loose life of the ruling orders, and were indignant at the insults heaped on their wives and daughters by the young nobles, who added insult to injury by calling them *ciompi*, that is, 'brothers-in-law.' While the nobility wished to utilize them to get the power into their own hands, the revolution of the Ciompi escaped from their control, and led to a democratic constitution, which the masses forced the higher classes to accept by repeated tumultuous revolts. Finally, however, the people could not maintain their régime. Still preserving its democratic form of rule, Florence returned to a liberal aristocratic government. The offices were again filled by nobles, who did not belong to the definitely expelled Guefts. To this class belonged the de' Medici, a family of bankers, who were later to exercise so great an influence on the affairs of Florence.

As this city had become the political centre of Middle Italy,

Milan became that of Lombardy in the fourteenth century. But there was this difference, that from the beginning the monarchical tendency predominated in Milan, which necessitated a firmer territorial consolidation of the neighboring districts. Supported by Emperor Henry VII., the Visconti had displaced the Guelfic della Torre. Made imperial vicar, Matteo Visconti had become master of Milan in 1311, and subjected Como, Bergamo, Piacenza, Tortona, Pavia, Cremona, and Alessandria to his rule. Asti and Bologna, and even Genoa, had to pay homage to his successors. A Lombard kingdom was about to arise out of the union of the hereditary signorial office of Milan and the imperial vicariate. In especial, under Matteo's son, Giovanni Visconti, this development went on, because he placed his spiritual power at the service of his house. He had been elected archbishop of Milan, but not as yet confirmed by the pope, and therefore took sides with the anti-pope, Nicholas V. After his fall, the victorious Avignonese pope let Giovanni retain his ecclesiastical dignity. When his brother, Lucchino, with whom he had been joint signore, died in 1349, Giovanni combined the highest temporal and spiritual offices in his person. He also became lord of Bologna, and Genoa elected him signore. Through family alliances with the dynasty of Lombardy, Giovanni secured brilliant prospects for the future of his house. Thereupon the Gonzaga of Mantua, the della Scala of Verona, and the Este of Ferrara combined against him under the headship of Venice. The league sought help from Emperor Charles IV. Giovanni died in 1354, before the outbreak of the war; and his nephews divided his dominions as follows: Matteo II. got Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, and Lodi; Barnabo received Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, and Crema; and Galeazzo II., Como, Novara, Vercelli, Asti, Alba, Alessandria, and Tortona. The three brothers were to rule conjointly in Milan. The extent of their power decided Charles IV., though importuned by their enemies, to legitimize the position of the Visconti by granting them the imperial vicariate. Notwithstanding, they suffered some losses at the hands of their enemies. Genoa had already become independent, and in 1356 the Visconti had to turn Asti over to the marquises of Montferrat. But at the same time they quelled a rising in Parma. Generally speaking, the rule of the Visconti had a decided military character, although it gained great strength from its financial resources. Their riches made family alliances desirable to older reigning houses. One of Barnabo's daugh-

PLATE VII.



Tomb of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti in the Certosa near Pavia.

Work of Galeazzo Pellegrini.

ters was married, in 1364, to Duke Leopold of Austria; and the other to a son of Emperor Louis, Duke Stephen of Bavaria-Lands-hut. The latter daughter became the ancestress of the house of Tudor, which reigned in England later. With the sums which Galeazzo II. advanced to Charles VI. of France for the ransom of King John, he bought the hand of the king's daughter, Isabella, and the fief of Vertus in Champagne. He was followed in 1378 by his son, Giovanni Galeazzo, who did away with his uncle, Barnabo, in 1384, and finally united the whole dominion of the Visconti under his sway. Then he subjugated Verona and Vicenza. From the Emperor Wenceslaus he bought the title of Duke of Milan, a dignity which he presumably hoped to exchange for the royal one. Gradually he extended his rule throughout Tuscany. Even Bologna, which Cardinal Albornoz had won for the papal chair, Giovanni Galeazzo succeeded in subjugating with the aid of the dissatisfied in the city. His next attempt was on Florence, which he hoped to make the capital of his future kingdom. But before the outbreak of the war he died suddenly, in 1402 (PLATE VII.). He left the rule of his family in its prime. After his death, however, a new era of civil war began for Lombardy, until the rise of the Sforza restored a better order.

Venice held a peculiar and leading place in the east of Upper Italy. Since the Crusades, from which she had derived immense profit through the eastern trade, Venice had steadily grown in wealth and power. In consequence of the conquest of Constantinople, in the Fourth Crusade, this city had become mistress of the eastern Mediterranean. Venice ruled over wide provinces in Greece and the Levant. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian and Istrian coasts were subject to her. Bassano and Treviso, on the Italian mainland, succumbed in 1338. Genoa, the old enemy of Venice in the east, led the threatened cities to a war against her rival, which inflicted some reverses on Venice. In 1379 almost her whole fleet was captured at Pola by the doge of the Genoese, Lucian Doria. The victors thereupon established themselves at Chioggia, among the Venetian lagunes. In the face of this danger, the Venetian citizens strained every nerve, and forced Chioggia to surrender, and the Genoese to vacate their threatening position. From that time the fortunes of Genoa waned. A favorable peace was negotiated in 1385; and Venice soon rose to be the first maritime power. By the voluntary submission of the island of Corfu, which had fallen

off from Naples, Venice gained a new stronghold for the protection of its eastern possessions. The Fourth Crusade brought to the island city Argos and Nauplia in the eastern Peloponnesus.¹ After the death of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, Venice came in for a part of the inheritance of his family, and acquired Rovigno, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Bassano, Feltre, Belluno, and finally Friuli.

In remarkable contrast to the daring development of the material power of Venice, stands the deadening sluggishness of its inner political life. While the constitutions of the other Italian cities became more and more democratic, the opposite tendency was at work in Venice, so that it became a rigid oligarchical aristocracy. The *dux*, or Doge, originally a representative of the distant Byzantine power, grew to be the first officer of the republic. He was elected for life, and assisted by a council from the most reputable families of the city. At first tribunes from the various islands composing the city of Venice were associated with the doge for certain purposes. Later on, this institution fell into abeyance. The old popular assembly, too, lost its significance so far as to exist only in name, until it disappeared in the fifteenth century. The aristocratic tendency of the government hindered the office of the doge from becoming hereditary. That official lost his right of adopting a co-regent, who had generally succeeded him; and his administration was supervised by two councils appointed annually. At their side stood the *consiglio dei pregadi*, the 'summoned' or senate, to which the doge called the heads of the great families for advice on particularly weighty matters. This senate first met opposition when the growth of trade and commerce put greater power into the hands of the lower classes, which made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to get a share in the government of the city. One of these democratic insurrections led to the murder of the doge, Vital Michieli, in 1172. To make such revolts impossible, the doge (Fig. 329) and the senate were placed under much stricter supervision by the establishment of the Great Council. It consisted of eighty *nobili*, whom the people were to elect annually, according to districts. The Great Council soon became a close corporation. This was especially the case after the so-called "closing of the Great Council" (*il serrar del*

¹ After the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, in 1204 (p. 278, Vol. IX.), one-fourth of the Byzantine dominions was assigned to the Latin emperor, while the remainder was divided equally between the French and Italian crusading nobles and the republic of Venice. Hence the doge of Venice long styled himself *Dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani*, "Lord of three-eighths of the Roman Empire."—Ed.

consiglio) in 1297. On the pretext of improving the mode of election, this *coup d'état* limited the eligibility to the council to members of the families who then sat in it. Only those noble families were henceforth to be capable of counsellorship whose names were then inscribed in the "Golden Book." This step made the Venetian aristocratic government a strict oligarchy.

Henceforth, however, the close governing corporation of Venice had to resort to repressive measures to maintain its usurped power. Thus its rule soon degenerated to a despotism which shunned no means of repression, and developed a system of espionage calculated to nip all discontent in the bud. Like a curse the mistrust, which was the source of these political institutions, lay upon all who were in any way connected with the government. From the highest to



FIG. 43. - Leaden bulla of Michael Steno, doge of Venice. Original size. Obverse shows the doge receiving a standard from St. Mark. (Berlin.)

the lowest, every one watched the other. For the characteristic and horrible trait of the Venetian police-state lay therein, that not only the convicted, but also those who were merely suspected or denounced, suffered the same punishments. The Council of Forty, which had been appointed in 1297, presumably to supervise temporarily the new order of election for the Great Council, grew into an all-powerful police. In their hands lay both the investigation of all trials and the declaration and execution of the sentence. But even that was not enough to allay the suspicions of the Great Council. In 1310 it established a college of ten inquisitors, the famous Council of Ten. On the shallow pretext of looking after the welfare of the state, this college exercised unlimited and arbitrary power. It is comparable only to the "Committees for the Public Safety" which sprang up during the French Revolution. Like the "Closing of the

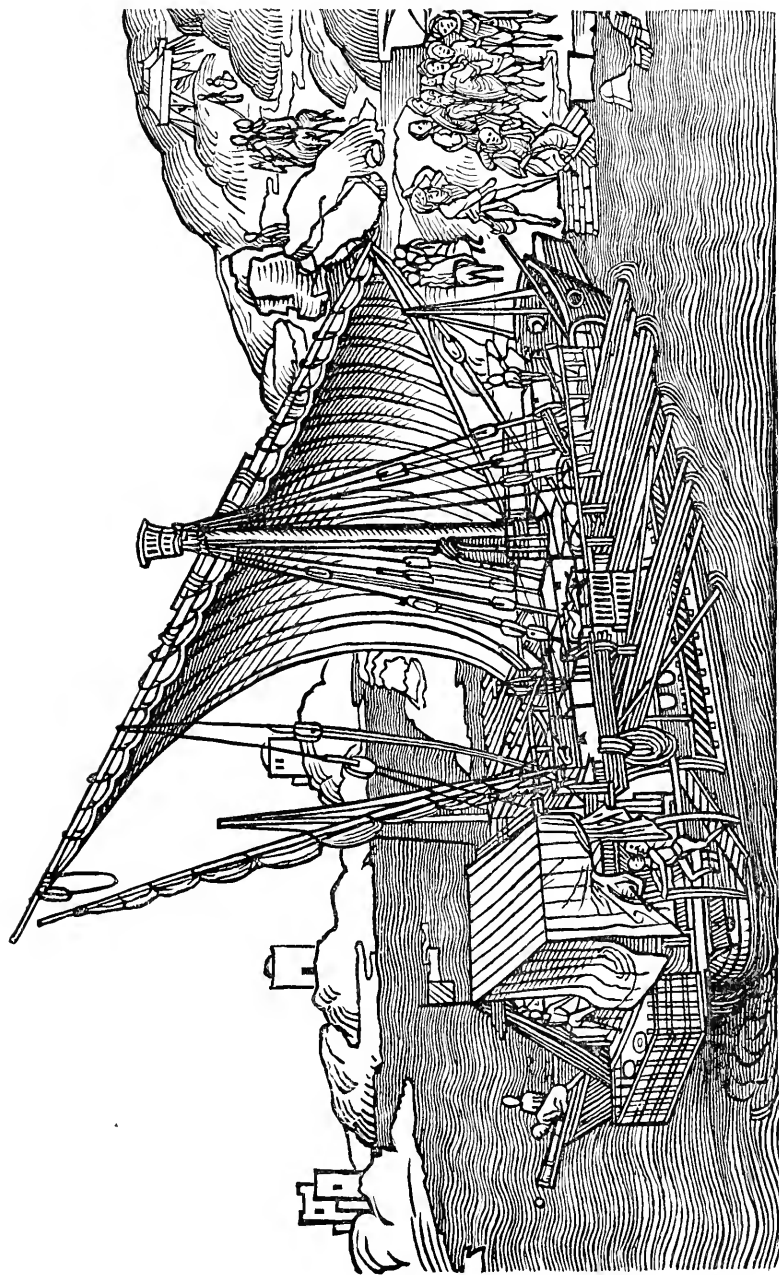


FIG. 44. — Venetian galley. Facsimile from Breydenbach's Travels, 1486.

Council," this institution was called into being presumably to avert momentary danger to the state. But when this was over, the college continued in office; and in time the Venetian inquisition outdid in cruelty even its prototype, the Inquisition of the Roman church.

Indeed, the nobili who were excluded from the Great Council and the people often tried to shake off the terrible yoke. The attempts always failed, and meant sure death for their originators, as in the case of the doge Marino Falieri (Fig. 45) in 1355. Besides, they only increased the oppression of the people. A general political demoralization was the result of this policy.

Applied consistently, however, for generations, it built up the external power of Venice, the imposing splendor of which (Figs. 44,



FIG. 45. — Gold ducat of the Doge Marino Falieri. Original size. Obverse: MAIN' FALEDRO S · M · VENETI · Reverse: SIT · T · XRE · DAT · Q · TV · REGIS · ISTE DUCAT'. (Sit tibi Christe datus quem tu regis iste ducatus.) Many mediaeval gold coins are inscribed with this leonine hexameter, from the last word of which the name ducat is derived.

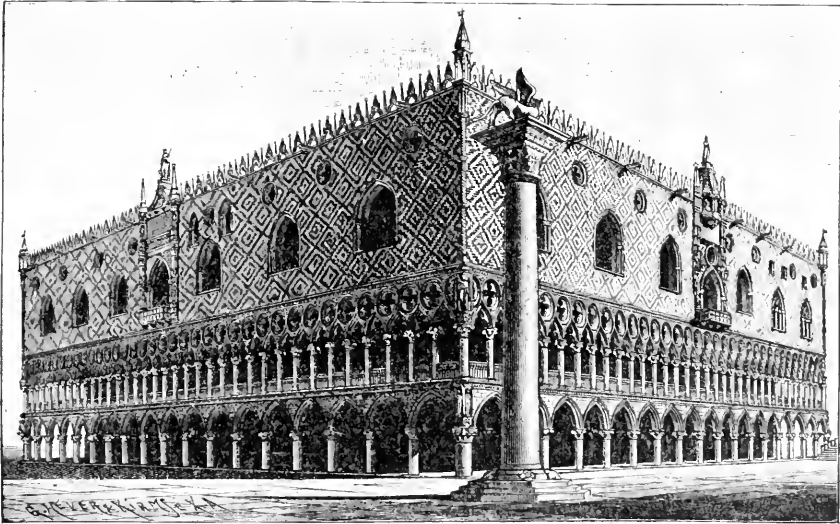


FIG. 46. — The Doge's Palace in Venice, built between 1350 and 1442. In front of it stands the column of St. Mark with the Lion.

46) reconciled the unthinking masses with their lot. But we must give the Venetian aristocracy its due for one merit at least. It created a formal diplomatic service which the rest of Europe copied.

CHAPTER VI.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AND THE SPREAD OF THE TURKISH POWER.

WITH irresistible force the Ottoman Turks had conquered almost the whole of Asia Minor (pp. 394–397, Vol. IX.). After Osman's son Orkhan had taken Brusa, the Turks stood at the gates of Europe. The decline of the Byzantine empire under the Palaeologi offered them the prospect of getting a firm foothold beyond the sea. They soon had Nice and Nicomedia in their power. The Greeks could not attempt to relieve those cities, as just then, in 1328, a dynastic conflict raged in the empire, during which Andronicus III. (1328–1341) deposed Andronicus II., and shut him up in a monastery. The new emperor's campaign against Orkhan, in 1330, ended in a severe defeat, which entailed the loss of Nice. Thus the Byzantines lost their last bit of ground in Asia, and the Bosphorus formed their eastern boundary. The foes already infested the seas, and landed in 1337 within a few miles of Constantinople, and plundered in sight of the capital. To avert the worst, the major domo, John Cantacuzenus (Cantacuzene), gathered a small force, and defeated the Turks badly. Few escaped, and almost all their ships fell into the hands of the Greeks.

But they could not effectively oppose Orkhan's further plans. Fresh disturbances in the Greek empire soon offered him the opportunity of hastening the capture of his prey by supporting one of the contesting parties. Andronicus III. had appointed Cantacuzenus regent to his minor son, John Palaeologus, at his death. But his mother, the Grand Admiral Apocaucus, and the patriarch of Constantinople intrigued against the regent, and finally brought on a civil war. The result was that the regent had to seek refuge with the prince of Servia. Rejected by him at the instigation of his enemies, Cantacuzenus put himself in communication with Umurbeg of Aidin, one of the Turkish vassal princes in Asia. The latter came to the Thracian coast with a fleet, while Apocaucus and the empress-widow, Anne of Savoy, enlisted the Bulgarians in their

cause. The attack on Constantinople in 1344 was thwarted, indeed. But the civil war lasted three years longer, because the empress-widow incited her adherents to ever renewed efforts. A treaty was not made until 1347, after Cantacuzenus had become master of Constantinople through treachery. The treaty secured the regency to him for the next ten years, and allied him to the Palaeologi by the marriage of the young emperor to his daughter. However, the bloody deeds of the last six years left its rancor in the breasts of both parties. It needed but a trifling cause to lash the old hatred into savage violence. The relation in which the Greeks stood to the Turks in consequence of their civil war was not a whit less dangerous to the empire. Cantacuzenus owed his victory to them. He had given his daughter Theodora to Sultan Orkhan to strengthen his alliance. Turkish armies repeatedly crossed to Europe to fight for the Greeks against the Servians and Bulgarians, or to put down an insurrection. The emperor John Palaeologus (1341-1391) himself sued for the sultan's favor. For he feared that he would aid Cantacuzenus to oust him and his house. Thus the deadly enemies of Christendom finally came to hold the balance of power in the endless dissensions of the empire, the last bulwark against a Turkish invasion of Europe.

After a few years of insecure peace the conflict broke out again, in 1353, between the regent and his ward. A short war put an end to the latter's mock rule, and forced him to flee to the island of Tenedos. The rule of his house seemed doomed to destruction when, in 1354, a rising in Constantinople brought about a sudden change of fortune. Cantacuzenus had to abdicate, and retired to a monastery, settling at last on Mount Athos.¹ John Palaeologus had finally reached the goal, for which his mother's ambition rather than his own had striven. But presently the Turkish allies of his removed enemy began to stir again. It was at this time that they got a foothold in Europe. In the course of the next century the Byzantine empire was to be reduced to the district around its capital, only to drop finally into the hands of the Turks like ripe fruit.

Meanwhile the Turkish conquerors were organizing their wild hordes, and getting them accustomed to a kind of political life.

¹ Cantacuzenus devoted a part of his monastic leisure—he lived until 1375 or later—to writing a history of the period from 1320 to 1357, in which he naturally represents his own conduct and motives, especially the latter, in the most favorable light. — *ED.*

Orkhan introduced important reforms in the military system, and made the sultanate independent of the old feudal constitution. From the warlike young converts to Islam he formed the picked corps of the Janizaries (pp. 395–397, Vol. IX.). Orkhan made his brother Ala-ed-Din grand vizier, and put the whole administration into his hands. On his advice Orkhan created a sort of make-weight to the Janizaries by giving his conglomerate kingdom uniform order through a code of laws. These laws left the various districts and their rulers a certain freedom of action in particular cases, but rigidly preserved the overlordship of the Ottoman Turks.

In his old age Orkhan relinquished his military activity to his son and successor, Solyman. During the internal dissension of the reign of John V. Palaeologus, Solyman seized Tzympe in the Thracian Chersonesus. This he made the basis for further conquests. Soon Gallipoli fell into his hands, when he easily subjugated the whole Chersonesus and the bordering coast of Thrace as far as the lower course of the Hebrus. Here Solyman's conquests stopped. For in 1358 he died from the effects of a fall from his horse. The people celebrated his still surviving father as the real founder of Solyman's tremendous power.

Sultan Amurath I. (1359–1389), the second son of Orkhan, followed Solyman. For a whole generation he successfully followed the path which his brother had pointed out to him by settling on the Thracian coast. First he subjected the half-independent Mohammedan rulers of Asia Minor to himself, and incorporated the rich district of Angora with his sultanate. He invaded Thrace in 1360 with an army, the core of which was formed by the Janizaries. Everywhere the effeminate Byzantines succumbed. Amurath routed their forces at Adrianople, and took possession of the second city of the Greek empire. Philippopolis met the same fate. Like a wedge the Turkish power now lay between Asia and Europe, which had to prepare for the worst. For Amurath's inroad into Thrace and Rumelia was meant for a permanent conquest, and was to furnish a base of operations for farther advance against the northwest. This position was indeed admirably selected. The first conflict of the Europeans with the conquerors made this clear. United with their neighbors, the Servians in 1363 invaded Thrace, and pushed to the walls of Adrianople. But here their superior numbers met a crushing defeat on account of their lack of discipline. Instead of Brusa, Adrianople now became the capital of the Turkish

kingdom. Situated on the outskirts of the West, it offered its inhabitants at the same time all the delights of the East. From this point Amurath extended his dominion toward the west and north to the Balkan range. Meanwhile he tried to reach the coast on the south, and threatened Thessalonica. To the east he narrowed the Byzantine empire down almost to the immediate limits of Constantinople. The smaller tribes of the northern and western regions bowed in increasing numbers to the sultan by promising tribute and military service even before the outbreak of hostilities. After the fall of Nish, in 1375, the Servian prince Lazarus had to make up his mind to this. Thereupon the Bulgarians likewise sought the favor of the conqueror on the same terms.

The enormous growth of the Turkish power in the West naturally reacted favorably on its stability in the East. The lax vassalage of some of the princes of Asia Minor changed into complete dependence on the distant sultan. In 1386 the mightiest of these, Ali Beg of Iconium, had to do homage to Amurath. John Palaeologus was not strong enough to take advantage of the eastern complications of the sultan, and join the attack on him. His journey to Italy and France to win Christendom for the liberation of Constantinople proved a failure. What was worse, it loaded the emperor down with unpayable debts. His oldest son, Andronicus, in order to rule even in the emperor's lifetime, refused to send the sums which the Venetians demanded before releasing their debtor. For this breach of faith, John deprived his son of his right to the throne in favor of his younger brother, Manuel. The latter had hurried to Venice to buy off his father, after the defence of Thessalonica. To defend his right to the throne, Andronicus now allied himself to Amurath's younger son, Sauzes, who likewise wished to depose his father, and shut out his older brother, Bajazet, from the succession. This prompted Amurath once more to make terms with the Greek emperor. As a result the two fathers then made war on their sons conjointly, in 1383. Sauzes was defeated, blinded, and finally beheaded. At the order of his Turkish ally, John V. had to blind his son, and imprison him for life.

The Servians alone had not been crushed by the defeat at Adrianople. Their prince, Lazarus, thought he could utilize the difficulties of Amurath for a war of independence. The Albanians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians joined him. But as soon as the sultan and his tried generals appeared in the field they neutralized the previous

successes of the allies. Amurath turned first on the Bulgarians. He took Shumla, and soon was master of all the strongholds on the Danube except Nicopolis. Before he could besiege that place the Bulgarian prince, Sisman, threw himself on his mercy. He surrendered his land to buy his life and liberty. In spite of this, Lazarus did not give up his cause as lost. In June, 1389, he met the sultan's forces at Kosovo. After long wavering in the balance, the victory went to the Turks, who perpetrated a horrible massacre on the Christians, and bore many away as slaves. Nor did Lazarus survive the downfall of his realm. But a Servian nobleman avenged the massacre of his countrymen by the assassination of Sultan Amurath immediately after the battle. His people buried him at Brusa, and revered him not only as a conqueror but as a martyr.

The immediate result of the battle of Kosovo was the subjugation of Servia. This was effected by Timurtash, one of the generals of the Sultan Bajazet, who had followed his father, Amurath. Bosnia and northern Macedonia also bowed to the conqueror, while Wallachia was made tributary. Hungary now became the natural bulwark of Europe against the Turks, which gave it an historical importance such as it had never had.

For centuries the land on the middle course of the Danube had been the scene of action of the barbaric hordes of the Huns and Avars. The Magyars had finally settled there after the Petchenegs had barred their return to their eastern home (see p. 224, Vol. VIII.). At the close of the Carolingian period the Hungarians had become the scourge of Germany. They penetrated into Lorraine and to the north of Italy. But the Saxon military organization of King Henry I., and its general effect on German warfare, put an end to their invasions. On their last invasion, in the time of Otto I., the Hungarians were beaten off under the walls of Augsburg (see pp. 252, 253, Vol. VIII.). Since then German missionaries, who started from Passau, spread Christian civilization among the people. For a long time the conflict between Christianity and paganism raged in Hungary, and affected its political relations to Germany. For the Christian party sought the aid and protection of the German kingdom, while the heathen one represented the national spirit, and was bent on excluding foreign influence. The conversion of Duke Geisa I. (972-997) to Christianity was only external, and did not in the least change the temper of his warlike people. It was his son, Waik, called by his baptismal name Stephen (997-1038), who first

cleared the ground for Christianity. He introduced German missionaries, and a careful church organization, which won his martial people to agriculture and permanent settlement. The crown which King Stephen received from Pope Sylvester II. was more than a reward for his having brought a province to the church. It pointed toward a gradual emancipation from Germany, and legitimized its wearer in the eyes of the people. This papal sanction was the source of the political regeneration which Hungary experienced at the hands of King Stephen. He replaced the old military tribal constitution by one which corresponded approximately to the Carolingian. The land was divided into seventy-two counties. In these, royal officials, who were answerable to the king, directed, in turn, not only the administration and the judiciary, but also the military organization.

But the Hungarians only submitted grudgingly to the new régime, objecting above all to the imitation of foreign models. Consequently Stephen's death was the signal for the outbreak of the national heathen reaction. A number of changeful wars ensued, which gave Emperor Henry III. repeated occasions for interference, and changed the kingdom of St. Stephen into a German fief. This relation, however, ended with the decline of the German kingdom under Henry IV. His brother-in-law, King Solomon, kept his throne only by surrendering a third of the country to his three cousins as an independent duchy. But his later attempt to do away with Geisa, who was taking steps to win Croatia, caused a rising before which he had to flee. Solomon never succeeded in making headway against Geisa, so that his power was restricted to Presburg. His opponent was crowned king as Geisa II. Geisa resolutely refused to become the vassal of the church, and sought to check the hierarchical claims of Gregory VII. and the German influences, by a closer alliance with Byzantium.

After Geisa's death his brother, Ladislaus (1077–1095), restored order. He fought successfully against the Cumanians, Russians, and Poles, and restored the ancient boundaries of Hungary. He paved the way for the later union of Croatia with his kingdom, by establishing his nephew, Almuđ, there. Ladislaus took up the long-forgotten traditions of St. Stephen, by carefully fostering the interests of the church, rooting out heathenish customs, and nursing the sciences transmitted by the church. He likewise reorganized the judiciary, which added to the authority of the crown. His brother, Koloman (1095–1114), continued on the same lines of

policy. After dethroning his brother, Almud, in Croatia, he made a treaty with the native chiefs. This insured them and their successors freedom from taxation, and restricted their military service, while it granted the Hungarian king feudal suzerainty. Koloman extended the power of the crown by developing the constitution. But he also allowed the landed nobility a privileged position at the expense of the other orders. The civilization in Hungary became very diversified, because the culture transmitted by Germany there met the influences of Byzantine culture.

In any case Hungary was still in a transition state when the death of Koloman gave rise to conflicts about the succession. The opposition of the nobility, which fought under the color of nationalism, succeeded in limiting the royal powers. But the royal house, also, developed during these struggles such untamable passions that the race of Arpad became a curse to its country, whose growth, and the spread of civilization, now fell to German daring and perseverance. For under the third successor of Koloman, Geisa III. (1141-1161), many Low Germans and Flemings migrated to the sparsely populated east. They settled in the country 'beyond the forest,' Transylvania, afterwards called Siebenbürgen from its seven burgs, or castles. The king endowed them with manifold rights and privileges, which guaranteed them their own courts, the free election of their officers, the right to acquire real property, and the immediate protection of the German kingdom. Thus they laid the foundation of a flourishing state in their mountainous district, rich as it was in forests and mines. In the twelfth century Hermannstadt, Klausenburg, and Kronstadt became the intellectual centres of Transylvania. On the other hand, the heightened opposition to Germany under Béla III. (1173-1196) caused the closer approach of Hungarian institutions to the Byzantine type. As the royal power rose in consequence, the nobility found new ground for its opposition.

Under such circumstances the royal power suffered great harm from the enmity which reigned between the sons of Béla III., and led to a dynastic revolution. In the struggle with his brother Emmerich (1196-1204), Béla's second son, Andrew, tried to get possession of the crown (Fig. 47) with the help of the warlike nobility. Finally Andrew fell into the power of his brother; but, on his death, he returned to his old schemes, which were soon realized by the death of Emmerich's minor son. But the rule of

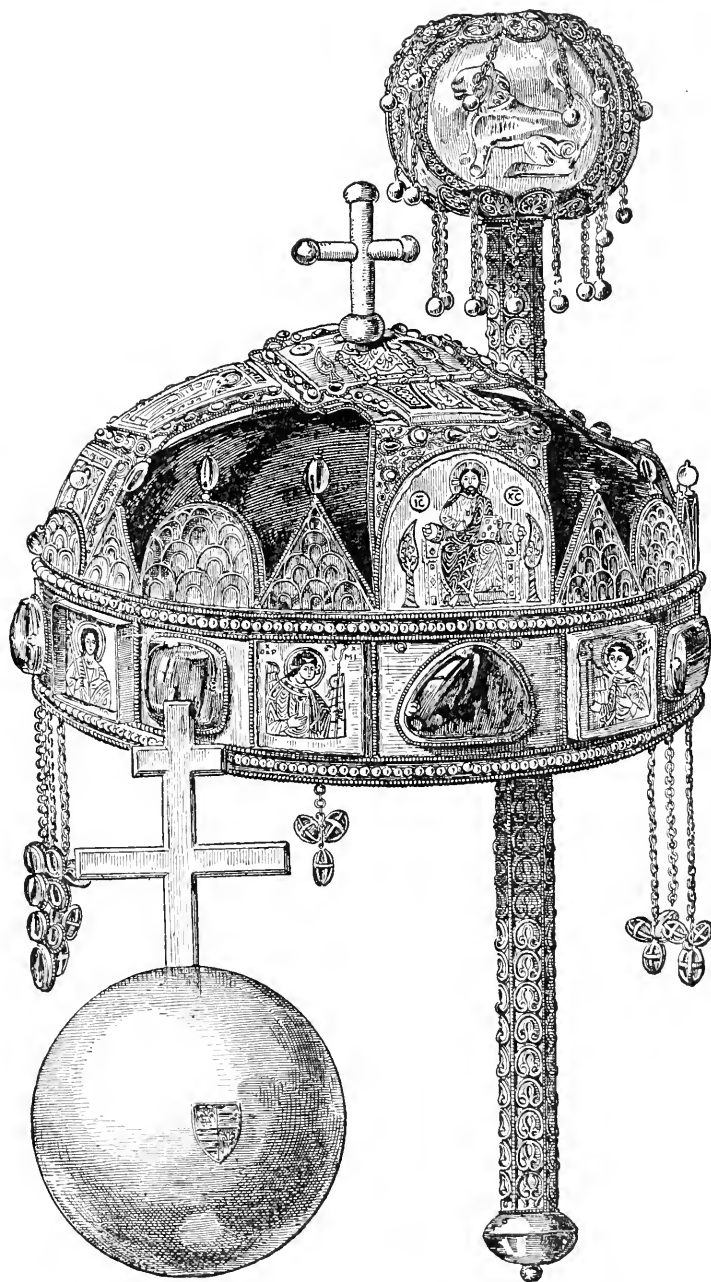


FIG. 47. — Royal Crown of Hungary (St. Stephen's crown), the Hungarian sceptre, and imperial globe. They date from the eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries. From the crown jewels in the castle at Budapest. (From Bock.)

Andrew II. (1205–1235) proved a stormy one. His queen induced him to shower honors, offices, and treasures on her brothers. This oppressed the people, and led to the squandering of the crown domains, while the Galician war did not bring the desired gain. The coarse licentiousness of the king's brothers-in-law raised the general indignation to such a pitch that Queen Gertrude was assassinated in 1214. The havoc increased when Andrew went on a crusade to Palestine in 1217 in fulfilment of an old vow. During his absence new disasters swept over his country. The Poles captured one of his sons; and the magnates helped themselves to the crown-lands, and curtailed the rights of the lower nobility. On his return Andrew resorted to the meanest devices to fill his coffers. He bought the consent of the nobility to his measures by confirming their usurped possessions. In vain his capable son Béla protested against his father's unprincipled action. The mass of the lower nobility supported Béla. A civil and family war broke out, which was not composed until 1222 by the church, with every circumstance of disadvantage to the royal power. The agreement then reached was proclaimed as the Golden Bull of Andrew II., which became the basis of the Hungarian state. In some respects it is the counterpart of the English Magna Charta. It drew distinct limits between the royal prerogative and the real or supposed rights of the estates, especially the higher nobility. The Bull freed the hereditary estates of the crown vassals of the king from every sort of burden. They could not be sued or condemned without the consent of the king, whom they were to render free military service within the realm, while their foreign service was to be paid. To supply the king with the means for the support of his dignity, the Golden Bull made certain stipulations about the alienated crown domains. Their owners were bound to render all the services and dues which had been established in the time of King Stephen. The Bull also contained clauses looking toward the prevention of future mischievous alienations of crown-lands. The main thing, however, was that the Golden Bull placed the king under the supervision of the magnates, which gave them opportunities for further restrictions of the royal power. The national spirit found vent in the stipulation that the gift of estates, offices, and dignities to foreigners should be permissible only with the consent of the estates. Like the Magna Charta of England, the Golden Bull of Andrew II. provided that armed resistance against any measures of

the king or his successor, in violation of that instrument, should not be considered a breach of loyalty. Thus the compact contained the germs of further struggles. The confiscation of the alienated crown-lands, which the magnates tried their best to hinder, caused new disturbances. Béla, who upheld the constitution, was banished. But he was recalled, and commissioned with the execution of the reform in Transylvania and the district on the river Theiss. But there he had to crush a revolt, as the magnates tried in many cases to shirk their obligations by resorting to arms. For their own safety the estates urged a diminution of the privileges of the magnates, which meant an indirect strengthening of the royal power. This led to the transformation of the Golden Bull at a diet held in 1231. It now protected the lower nobility from new and arbitrary taxation. Moreover, it guaranteed their immunities to the clergy, and to the king the undiminished possession of the crown-lands. Although the modified Bull did not distinctly abrogate, it no longer mentioned, the right of the magnates to armed resistance. On the other hand, the archbishop of Gran was to protect the fundamental law of the land. He was to call the king's attention to any violation of the law on his part, and to excommunicate him in case he made no amends.

The Golden Bull did not really go into effect until Andrew II. had died. His son, Béla IV. (1235-1270), not only conscientiously carried out his part of the compact, but made the magnates carry out theirs. But just then the progress of the kingdom was interrupted by the Mongolian invasion. The Hungarian army succumbed to it, in 1241, on the plain of Mohi, on the Sayo. Béla escaped to Austria. Hungary was the picture of horrible devastation when Béla returned, after the withdrawal of the Mongols. To populate the land he called settlers from the neighboring Slavonic territories, and from Italy and Germany. Also he improved the condition of the peasants on the crown domains and church estates. He gave the Cumanians seats in the steppes between the Danube and Theiss. By restoring the old and building new castles along his frontiers, Béla provided against future ravages. In a war with the Austrians he recovered the contested border-districts, after the death of Duke Frederick the Warlike, in 1246. Béla then used the dissensions which followed the extinction of the Austrian male line in the southeast of the German kingdom to push his conquests. He actually got a firm footing in Styria for a time. That gave rise in turn

to a violent conflict between the Hungarian king and Ottocar of Bohemia, who had married Margaret, the Austrian heiress. Béla's initial successes were soon more than counterbalanced by the terrible defeat which Ottocar inflicted on him, on July 12, 1260, on the plains of the river March. In 1261 Béla had to surrender Styria to the Bohemian king in the peace of Vienna. Finally the king of Hungary became involved in a war with his son Stephen, whom he had already crowned king. In consequence of the participation of the selfish nobility, this conflict gave rise to another civil war. After the defeat of Stephen, the church put an end to the war by its mediation. In spite of his sincere efforts for the welfare of his kingdom, Béla IV. left it, in 1270, in a condition of increasing disruption. The events under his successors only hastened it.

Stephen V. died after a reign of two years, during which the war with Bohemia broke out again. His minor son, Ladislaus IV. (1272-1290), succeeded him. On attaining his majority he caused great resentment on account of his partiality to the heathen Cumans. By reason of his loose life with Cumanian women he fell out with the church, which forced him by means of the ban to change his mode of life, and to deal harshly with his former favorites. To revenge themselves, they incited the Mongols at the mouth of the Danube to an invasion. In 1284 they fell violently upon eastern Hungary, but Ladislaus repulsed them. But the ensuing crusade against the Cumans brought great distress on Hungary. The confusion now enabled the magnates to repress the lower nobility, cities, and peasants still more. Prosperity sank, and security of travel ceased. Galicia and Servia were lost, and Venice occupied Dalmatia.

In 1290 Ladislaus IV. was murdered, at the instigation of his jealous Cumanian mistress. Andrew, the son of Stephen, son of Andrew II. by a marriage which Béla IV. refused to recognize, was the last scion of the house of Arpad. Him Ladislaus had made duke of Slavonia, and designated as his successor. But Andrew III. found only partial recognition. In alliance with Austria and Pope Boniface VIII., the Hungarian magnates set up an anti-king, Charles Martel, the son of Charles II. of Anjou, king of Naples, and of Mary, sister of Ladislaus. But the lower nobility and clergy took sides with Andrew III. Notwithstanding, the magnates persisted in their opposition, and chose Charles Robert as the successor of his father, when Charles died in 1296. With the death of Andrew, five

years later, the house of Arpad became extinct. But even now the Anjou anti-king was not recognized everywhere, and a war of succession tore Hungary for another decade.

As general European politics are marked in the fourteenth century by the stronger activity of a national consciousness, the conflicts in Hungary received their stamp and general significance from this source. For the majority of the Hungarian nobility and clergy, led by Matthew Csak and Archbishop John of Kalocsa, only saw a foreigner in Charles Robert. Therefore the national party raised Wenceslaus III., the son of Wenceslaus II. of Bohemia, to the throne.



FIG. 48. — Hungarian king in battle, fourteenth century. Miniature in a Latin manuscript of 1330, called *Marci chronica de gestis Hungarorum*. (Vienna, Royal Library.)

He was a Premysl, and as such related to the Arpads. At this juncture Boniface VIII. wished to arbitrate between the claimants to the throne. Regardless of the protest of the national party, the pope, in 1303, issued a mandate from Anagni in favor of the Anjou. He commissioned Albert I., the German king, with its execution. Albert gladly used this pretext to hinder the growth of a Bohemo-Hungarian kingdom, and to secure the good-will of the pope in his conflict with the Rhenish electors (p. 318, Vol. IX.). As a matter of fact, fortune favored Charles Robert of Anjou. The savage mode of warfare which the king of Bohemia employed in helping

his son estranged his adherents from him. Consequently when he inherited his father's crown, in 1305, Wenceslaus III. gave up the Hungarian one to Charles Robert of Naples. But no inconsiderable party in Hungary still opposed the foreign king, and transferred the crown to another grandson of Béla IV., Duke Otto of Lower Bavaria. In consequence every trace of public order vanished. Hungary was exposed to the danger of complete disruption, as the magnates used the throne contest to make their rule more and more independent. Thus the voivode of Transylvania, Ladislaus Apor, was successful. In 1306 he coaxed Otto of Lower Bavaria into his land by offering him his daughter in marriage. When he came Ladislaus imprisoned him, with the intention of usurping the crown. Equal success attended the attempt of the supposed national leader, Matthew Csak, to attain an independent position in Upper Hungary. In the west the warlike counts of Gussingen became practically independent. Papal mediation finally abated the violence of the disruption. Otto was released by Ladislaus Apor, who, however, obstinately refused to surrender the crown of St. Stephen. Charles Robert had to be crowned with another, a fact which did not increase his legitimacy in the eyes of many. In the summer of 1310 he made a treaty with Ladislaus Apor, who restored the holy crown of St. Stephen, with which the king was again crowned. Matthew Csak persisted in his opposition, and ruled like an independent prince over the country between the Carpathians and Komorn, from his castle at Trentschin. Charles did not trouble him, and held his court at Temesvár. He always remained a stranger to the land and people, nor did he do anything towards healing the wounds from which the country suffered.



Hungarian Soldier of the fourteenth century. Initial in the chronicle from which the last illustration is taken.

UNTIL, Hungary did not lack a certain splendor during the reign of Charles Robert (1310-1342). This met the approval of the feudal nobility, because they had an opportunity for once to satisfy their desire for display and pomp. Charles devoted himself to foreign politics, in order to increase the power of the Anjous by making use of the warlike Hungarians. Thus he raised Hungary to the front rank of the European nations. Much to its disadvantage, Hungary thus took on an outspoken aristocratic and

military character, which greatly handicapped the cities and peasants. The sole aim of Charles's home policy was to win the nobility to support him in his family schemes. And in this field, as well as in renewing the military strength of the country, which rested on the nobility, Charles achieved no small success. Later on he regulated the coinage, taxation, jurisdiction, trade, and commerce, and favored the growth of the cities. But all this served only as a means for his chief end, the aggrandizement of his house.

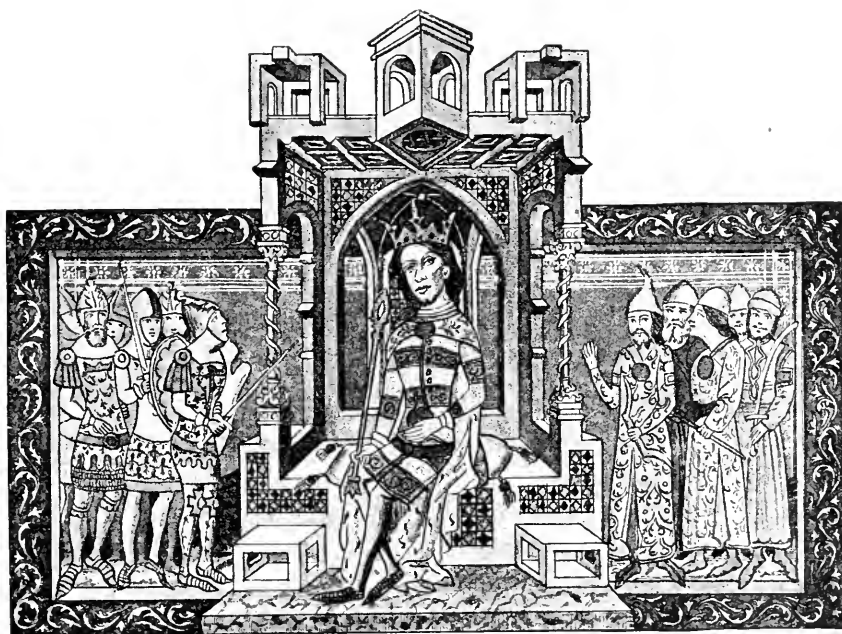


FIG. 49. — Hungarian king on his throne, with courtiers. (From the same M.S. mentioned above.)

To secure the rights of his successor to Naples, he married his younger son Andrew to Joanna, the heiress of the Neapolitan throne. But his son was murdered in Naples (p. 103). Charles then solicited the succession to the Polish throne for his oldest son, Louis. To this the childless Casimir of Poland lent a willing hand. The Hungarian king also allied himself with the rising house of Luxemburg. His connections gave Charles an influential position, which increased the authority of his kingdom among the European states. The advance of the Turkish power caused the destiny of Europe to depend upon the strength of Hungary.



Hungarian warrior of the fourteenth century. Miniature from the MS. mentioned in the three previous pictures.

UPON the foundations left by Charles, his son Louis, called 'the Great,' built up his power after his father's death. His expedition to Naples, to avenge the murder of his brother Andrew, resulted in the transmission of Italian culture to Hungary. The other wars of Louis raised the power of Hungary in the southeast of Europe. In 1351 he defeated the Lithuanians, and thus restored Galicia to his crown. The next year he wrested Moldavia from the Tatars; later he rendered the Lithuanians tributary, made Wallachia and southern Russia subject to him, and fought successfully against the Bosnians and Servians. On the other side he drove the Venetians out of Dalmatia. Louis attained to a truly imposing position, when, after the death of his uncle, King Casimir of Poland, he was raised to the Polish throne.



Hungarian warrior of the fourteenth century. See above.

STRONGLY attached to Hungary though he always remained, Louis the Great never offended the national peculiarities of his numerous subject races. He took pains in every case to establish a firm rule, well-regulated administration, and a prosperous economic life. By a judicious use of the western feudal system, Louis introduced several reforms. He sought to restrict the arbitrariness of the nobility, and the alienation of their estates, so as to keep their military power intact. He succeeded in lessening the uncomfortable influence of the high nobility in Hungary. Thus the reign of Louis the Great marks a new era in the history, not only of Hungary, but also of the whole of southeastern Europe. That the development of this period did not correspond to its fortunate beginning, was partly due to the fact that Louis's power was partitioned at his death, and partly to the simultaneous onslaught of the Turks upon the divided land.

BOOK II.

ATTEMPTS AT ECCLESIASTICAL AND
POLITICAL REFORM.
NATIONAL AND SOCIAL REVOLU-
TION IN THE AGE OF THE GREAT
CHURCH COUNCILS.

(A. D. 1378—1453.)

THE AGE OF THE GREAT CHURCH COUNCILS: ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.

(A. D. 1378-1453.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREAT SCHISM AND THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE: THEIR EFFECT ON THE CHRISTIAN WEST.

(A. D. 1386-1419.)

IN contradistinction to the first half of the Middle Ages, which was ruled by the idea of a universal empire, the second half is dominated by the individualistic national idea and the demand of liberation from the omnipotent papacy. France under Philip the Fair, England in the age of Edward III. and Wycliffe, and Germany under Louis the Bavarian and Charles IV., had all rebelled against Rome. The opposition had taken different forms, and had not met with equal success. But the movement gained in method and force in proportion as the Avignonese papacy became dependent on France and the tool of the dynastic interests of the Valois. In consequence the papacy suffered from an inherent inconsistency. This became more and more evident not only in the field of ecclesiastical life, but also in the political, and finally undermined the foundations of the papacy itself. Its degeneration increased rapidly, especially as the mighty new spiritual influences either hampered or exterminated its influence at large. This was facilitated not only by the skepticism and religious indifference prevalent since the crusades, but also by the more scientific treatment of theology which the revived study of Greek made possible. The legal titles of papal omnipotence had been repeatedly disputed. The Minorites attacked it from the moral side by the doctrine of apostolic poverty, and the monarchists from the political, in their defence of temporal sovereignty. The idea of reorganizing the absolutistic constitution of the church by introducing the democratic system of general councils was not foreign to the age. The disruption of the church during the residence of the popes at Avignon convinced ever-growing circles of the necessity of a thorough reformation of the church.

Consequently a mighty effort for reform, both in church and state, rules the age of the Great Councils; for the masses had become conscious of their power, and had already begun to wrest their disregarded rights from the state. The opposition which they met forced them from the straight path of reformation into the fatal error of revolution. This rebellion denied and threatened the historical basis of the church and state, and thus prepared its own fall and wrecked the hope of reform for some time. It was this defeat which enabled the church to gain at least outward victory in the great struggle for existence.

About this time Clement VI. (1342-1352) followed in the line of the Avignonese popes. By his partiality to Joanna of Naples, the murderer of her consort, he stained the church with a great moral blot. Still, it brought him to Avignon. Meanwhile the fantastic republic of Cola di Rienzi set aside the temporal rule of the pope in Rome. When Clement's successor, Innocent VI. (1352-1362), finally attempted to eliminate the abuses of the church, he had but a doubtful success; he only raised opposition against his inconvenient disturbance of the old conditions, and roused a vehement desire for more thorough reforms from the radical party.

The systematic financial oppression which the papal court had developed in time weighed most heavily on the private citizen. Under every conceivable claim the recipients of ecclesiastical dignities had to make exorbitant payments to Avignon. When a cleric was installed he had to pay a confirmation tax, which was proportionate to the income of his living. Archbishops and bishops had to pay their whole income for the first year, the so-called annats. A corresponding sum was due for recommendation to a vacant living, or commendment; and for the grant of succession to one still occupied, the so-called expectancy. Furthermore, there was a tax on the permission to unite several ecclesiastical positions in one person; this right was called union and incorporation. Add to this the long series of purchasable dispensations. Besides, the papal court drew the incomes of church offices during vacancies (*fructus medii temporis*). In virtue of the *jus spoli*, once so obstinately refused to the emperors, the church took the legacies of deceased bishops. Now, in every case it was not a question of exclusive payments to the pope, but of a number of extra fees. For the papal payments and the perquisites for the officials of the pope, a regular scale of prices gradually took shape. To quote a few examples: The bishopric of Brixen at the end of the thirteenth century paid 4000 gold florins to the pope and 200 in perquisites. But the growing need of money at the papal court brought about a corresponding rise in values. While the poorest German bish-

opric, that of Minden, was taxed at 500 gold florins, Toulouse and Seville paid 5000 apiece, Langres 9000, Mayence, Treves, and Salzburg 10,000, and Rouen as much as 12,000. A single payment might have been borne. But John XXII. was no longer satisfied with his income. He introduced the profitable custom of filling a vacancy with the next bishop in rank. Thus he could vacate and fill a whole series of benefices at the same time, which forced a whole series of bishops to pay dues for more than one benefice.

But the treasures which flowed to Avignon had long ceased to be used for the real purposes of the church; they provided the members of the papal court with means to lead an immoral life at Avignon. This prevailed to such an extent that the serious-minded called that city a new Sodom and Gomorrah. The name alone of Christianity survived in the papal circles, nor were the lower orders better than the head of the church. Not that there was an entire lack of serious and moral bishops and parish priests; but in any case these formed the minority, and could not exercise a salutary influence on the conduct of the church or the lives of their colleagues. What could the church still give to those who sought spiritual food from it? The Catholic ritual offered the poor in spirit nothing at all; its rites had become a dead formalism performed in a strange tongue, and were calculated only to glorify the church and the clergy, and to emphasize the inaccessibility of God without their all-powerful mediation.

The faults and failings of the church, which happened to be uppermost and most strongly emphasized, determined the tendencies of the opposition. One party gave up the idea of an ecclesiastical reformation, and tried to replace what the church could no longer offer by an independent organization within the limits of its pious fraternities. This party, consequently, did not expressly fall off from the church, but gradually eluded it, nevertheless. To this section belonged the Apostolic Brothers who gathered around Gherardo Segarelli. Others were the Spirituals, who carried out the commandment of apostolic poverty practically, and the Beghards and Beguins, who devoted themselves to charity. The English Lollards and the Dutch Brethren of the Common Life stood on the same ground. In another party a pious fanaticism predominated. Such were the Flagellants, who appeared lashing themselves in public in various parts of Europe during the pestilences and calamities of the middle of the fourteenth century. The Mystics were the most marked outgrowth of this extravagant piety. Its most prominent German representatives were the Dominican Eckehard, who died in 1329, and John Tauler, who died in 1361. All the above-

named sects were free from hostility to the church; consequently, the church used them with comparative mildness and let them alone. On the other hand, it pursued with relentless severity all those who dared to investigate the sources of its power and thereby threaten its existence.

Independently, though not uninfluenced by the pietistic tendencies of the age, another reform party arose in France about the middle of the fourteenth century. Its aim was to apply its principles to practice. Therefore, it soon stepped to the fore-front of the movement for church reform. Enough ecclesiastical independence had remained in France to inspire the French clergy with a particular sense of the unworthiness of papal church government. Filled with a lively national spirit, it had stood by Philip the Fair and helped him set at naught the claims of Boniface VIII. Besides, the French knew the true condition of the papal court at Avignon better than the other nations. In France, then, the earnest desire for reform arose which wished to set up the conciliar system in the church against the absolutistic papal one. Its practical exponent was Pierre d'Ailly. He was a learned philosopher and theologian, a man of a strong yet moderate nature which inspired respect even in his enemies. Pope John XXII. gave expression to this regard by making him cardinal. D'Ailly was the first champion of the doctrine that the church, as represented in a general council, was justified in judging its head, the pope, when he erred. This, he argued, was right, because not the chair of St. Peter, but the Bible, was the rock on which the Saviour had built his church. At d'Ailly's side stood Jean Charlier, generally called Gerson, after his birthplace. He surpassed his colleague not only in intellectual keenness but also in depth of feeling. In the latter quality, however, Nicholas de Clémenges, the third leader of the French reform party, surpassed them. He knew the papal court thoroughly, because he had once been in its service and defended its supposed rights against the French crown. Threatened in consequence by the state, Clémenges had withdrawn to a monastery and devoted himself to serious study. This first disclosed to him the irreconcilable contradiction between the teaching and the actual condition of the church. He conceived a bold and grand plan for the reformation of the church, which was to enable it to fulfil again its long-forgotten mission. His reform resembled in some points that of Wycliffe, which was quite unknown to him and of an entirely different nature. Clémenges alone had the courage to declare that Christendom was entirely independent of the outward form of the papal church, and that the invisible church of the Scriptures was the true one. He considered the word of the Bible infallible. Thus his position already points directly to Luther,

It is clear that a great spiritual movement was on foot against the papal church, when the outbreak of the Great Schism determined the divided forces to unite so as to reach their aim. Gregory XI. had gone to Rome in 1377 to rescue the temporal sovereignty of the papacy. A part of the cardinals had refused to follow him, and stayed in Avignon. When the pope died the next year, the threatened national split occurred in the college of cardinals, while the Romans loudly demanded an acceptable election. They raised Archbishop Bartholomew of Bari to the throne of St. Peter as Urban VI. (1378-1389). Thereupon twelve Transalpine and two Italian cardinals hastened to Anagni and protested against the election as forced, and therefore null and void. They then elected one of their own number, Robert of Geneva, the Bishop of Cambrai, as Pope Clement VII. (1378-1394). The rival popes hurled the ban and interdict at each other without the slightest effect. But Clement could not maintain himself long in Italy. He returned to Avignon, and France recognized him as the legitimate pope. Naples, Scotland, Savoy, and Spain followed the lead of the Valois. Germany, England, and the other states stood by Urban VI.

However unbearable the condition of affairs was, there was no authority whatever in Europe which was justified in, or capable of, making an end to it. Formerly the word of the emperor had settled similar schisms. But now the emperor lived only in name. Thus it came that the schism continued and soon seemed to become a permanent institution of the church. For in Rome Urban VI. was succeeded by Boniface IX., Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. (1389-1417). In Avignon Benedict XIII. (1394-1424) succeeded Clement VII. He finally promised to abdicate if his opponents too would agree not to appoint any cardinals, and thus let both parties die out. But even this pitiful expedient proved impracticable, because Gregory XII. refused to accede. Thereupon the nations finally began to give up their obedience to both popes. Some of the cardinals of both sides renounced their allegiance, and met at Leghorn to concert measures about restoring the unity of the church.

The pious and learned had long advised the church to resort to inner reform as the only thing which could save it. They had sought to prove by the Scriptures and the history of the church the right of Christendom to reform itself by means of a general council. The University of Paris now gave this verdict under the influence of Gerson and Clémenges. On its authority the king and the Parliament of Paris at last concluded to declare themselves neutral. Both popes were to be suspended until the matter was settled. At the same time the plan of sum-

moning a national French council was considered. The meeting of the cardinals at Leghorn decided to follow the University of Paris, the first learned corporation of its time. On June 29, 1408, the cardinals issued a circular letter to Christendom summoning a general council to Pisa for the following spring. This step made the best impression and was hailed everywhere with joy. However, there was no lack of opposition. King Ladislaus of Naples, who became master of Rome in 1408, protested against the proposed proceedings at the instigation of Gregory XII. Moreover, the German Count Rupert of the Rhine Palatinate raised minute legal objections. It was unfortunate for the reform movement that the emperor and empire again stood aloof from the general movement of the time, whereas they ought to have directed it.

During the thirty years of Charles IV.'s reign the constitutional transformation of Germany had come to a close. While the French and English kingdoms had become the expression and exponent of the national life, the national consciousness in Germany had become keener in its opposition to Rome. But it had not found a permanent and general expression. The various elements of the state rather expressed the national idea, each from its own interested point of view. The result was a manifold disintegration and the sharpening of inner contrasts. This brought about a more marked separation between the north and east on the one hand and the south and west on the other; for in the north and east, where the spread of German civilization and the growth of its territory had been the work of individual princely families, large connected territories had sprung up as a result of this activity. There were not here the usual large number of petty feudal lords, and consequently the less restricted sway of the lord of the land soon led to territorial sovereignty. In the south and west, however, the disintegration continued and resulted in an unimpeded diminution of the authority of the princes. In opposition to these the knights and cities had recourse to confederacies for their own ends. If the disrupted realm could have been united at all it could only have happened through a confederation formed of all the smaller leagues. At first, however, the principle of confederation was restricted to small circles, who used it to attain their particular advantage. They only increased the disunion, and made the west and south the scene of confused struggles. In these the cities stand in the foreground and appear more and more called upon to be the representatives of the future of Germany. Handicapped by the Golden Bull, the cities combined to preserve their status in the empire by self-help. The smaller Swabian and Rhenish cities are especially prominent in this movement. The league of the latter sprang up in opposi-



FIG. 50.—Scenes from Italian ecclesiastical life about the year 1400. The monks of the monastery of La Certosa at Pavia, founded in 1396 by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, receive a bull of confirmation from the pope. The cut represents a relief over the portal of La Certosa, made by Giovanni Antonio Quivano (1417-1522).
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tion to the ecclesiastical princes of the Rhine (Fig. 50). The conflict between Emperor Louis and the popes had increased the importance

of the cities. At that time the Swabian League overstepped its original limits by combining in 1330 with the Bishop of Augsburg and the sons of the emperor. Later other temporal princes, notably the counts of Württemberg, had joined the league. Charles IV. confirmed it in 1347. Somewhat later Charles tried to expand it into a general league for the preservation of the public peace; but the relation between the cities and the princes became more strained about this time. The struggle raged most fiercely in Swabia. Here the princes, above all, Count Eberhard of Württemberg (Fig. 51), united with the various leagues of Swabian knights against the hated cities. But the severe defeat of the nobles at Reutlingen, in May, 1377, secured municipal freedom for some time.

Meanwhile, Wenceslaus of Bohemia (1378-1400) had succeeded Charles IV. on the German throne. At first he had the best intentions of serving the state. But Wenceslaus was soon put out and discouraged by the disaffection he met everywhere. He preferred to attempt nothing, and his lack of energy sank to complete apathy. His

baneful love of the cup and his violent passion made him an object of fear and disgust to increasing numbers. Consequently, his effort to



FIG. 51.—Tomb of Eberhard the Bearded (Rauschebart) of Württemberg. In the Collegiate Church at Stuttgart.

restore peace to the kingdom by a systematic use of the principle of confederation soon fell in abeyance. But this very principle was a dangerous weapon in the hands of the princes. Thus the league made at Ehingen in 1382 between Leopold of Austria, Eberhard of Württemberg, and some of the South German cities, and leagues of knights, was an open breach of the laws of the realm. Consequently, Wenceslaus made a clever counter-thrust, when he tried to utilize it for his policy of peace, by drawing it into his own league for the preservation of the peace (Fig. 52).



FIG. 52.—Seal of King Wenceslaus appended to the Document proclaiming a Public Peace. Original size. Inscription: † S · PACIS · PER · DNM · (dominum) WENTZESLAV · ROMANORV · ET · BOEMIE · REGE · ORDINATE. (Berlin, Royal Privy Archives.)

He made the latter league at Nuremberg, in March, 1383, with a number of the estates, for the establishment of a general peace for twelve years. But this peace was deprived of its effect by the withdrawal of the suspicious cities. They set up a separate union in 1384, by means of the so-called "Heidelberger Stallung." Nor was this step successful; for to protect themselves in turn from this danger, thirteen Rhenish and Swabian towns made a league with the Swiss Confederacy, at Constance, in 1385. A furious war raged throughout the greater part of South Germany. In the bloody battle of Döffingen, in 1388, Eberhard of Württemberg completely wiped out the disgrace of Rentlingen. The cities never recovered from this blow. The Rhenish towns fired no

better against the Count Palatine and his adherents. Nevertheless, Wenceslaus succeeded in winning over the conquered for the ten years' peace which he established at Eger, in 1389. They were to take part in seeing it kept. In return, to be sure, the cities had to dispense with the right of admitting those without the pale of their cities (*Pfahlbürger*) to citizenship, and with that of confederation. Thus they were robbed of their most valuable privileges, and things remained just as they were.

Such sad experiences convinced King Wenceslaus that it were best to let the German realm take care of itself. In Bohemia, too, his despotism soon gave rise to serious disturbances. In 1393, the Bohemian knights formed a league against him. His brothers, Sigismund of Brandenburg and John of Moravia, were among its members. The league took the king captive in 1394, and he had to buy his liberty by allowing a co-regency to be formed. The king did not forget his humiliation. He had his noble supervisors assassinated, and gave loose rein to his tyranny. Thus he forfeited all his esteem in the kingdom, and the indignant withdrawal of the Rhenish electors condemned him to unworthy inactivity. The electors already considered the advisability of deposing the king. Rupert of the Palatinate and Frederick III. of Cologne made an alliance with Henry IV. of England, whereupon Wenceslaus made a compact with Charles VI. of France. To secure further aid he granted Galeazzo Visconti the title of an hereditary Duke of Milan. This act became the starting-point of the long-planned proceedings against Wenceslaus. In April, 1399, the three Rhenish electors made a league at Boppard, which Saxony and Treves joined. In time all the princes of the empire became members of it except the house of Luxemburg.

They did not begin proceedings immediately, simply because they had not yet united on a successor of Wenceslaus. In South Germany, all desired Rupert of the Palatinate. The North Germans turned their eyes on Frederick of Brunswick. Both parties treated with each other in Frankfort-on-the-Main without good results. But when Frederick was mysteriously murdered on his way home, the Count Palatine was the only candidate. The electors tried to secure the consent of Pope Boniface IX. (1389-1404) beforehand for the election. On August 20, 1400, they met at Oberkahnstein to establish a new form of deposition. A formal act of accusation was brought in that did not admit of any vindication. The king was accused, in the first place, of not having helped the church to its peace. Furthermore, they claimed that Wenceslaus had dismembered the kingdom and not kept its cities and lands intact. That had reference especially to the king's compact with Galeazzo Visconti. The last clause of the accusation made the king guilty of cruelly perse-

cutting the church. This referred to Bohemian affairs. In consequence of a conflict in which Wenceslaus had become involved with the Archbishop of Prague, the latter had excommunicated some of the king's counsellors. To force the removal of the ban, the king imprisoned and maltreated the archbishop's counsellors. In March, 1393, his vicar, John of Pomuk, was drowned by the king's order. If this act offered just cause for complaint, the electors could only use the charge of continuing the Great Schism, as a pretext to ruin the king. They charged him with having neglected the public peace, but this had still less of a point; for Wenceslaus had devoted his best activity to this very cause, and it surely was not his fault alone if the internal feuds continued. Nevertheless, the electors at Oberlahnstein declared Wenceslaus unworthy of his office, and deposed him. This illegal proceeding appears in its right light only when we take into consideration the conditions which the electors imposed on Rupert of the Palatinate at the royal election. Naturally he was to end the schism and restore Milan to the empire. But no one told him whence he was to get the necessary means.

Therefore Rupert (1400-1410) had to face the impossible from the beginning of his reign, which doomed him to unworthy activity. At any rate, it was a proof of courage and sincerity that Rupert made an attempt to fulfill his obligations. Even a moderate success would have given him some authority. But fortune did not favor him. He returned in April, 1402, without fame or power from his Italian expedition, after the Visconti had defeated him at Brescia. Henceforth, wherever he tried to exercise his influence, the electors opposed him as if he were guilty of unauthorized interference in foreign rights.

The insolent Archbishop of Mayence, John II. (1397-1419), answered King Rupert's (Fig. 53) measures against some of his robber vassals by making a league in 1405 with the Margrave of Baden, the Count of Wurttemberg, with Strasburg and seventeen Swabian cities. They made a league for five years at Marbach. Although the members of the league declared they would in future render their dues and services to the state, their union was doubtless aimed against Rupert. It was calculated to disarm the kingdom entirely and to deprive it of every chance of gaining strength. The king contested their right of making such a league, whereupon the Archbishop of Mayence reminded him that he himself had once made a similar league against Wenceslaus. The ensuing negotiations ended in fresh humiliation for the king. At the close of 1406 he had distinctly to recognize the right of the princes to make leagues. The archbishop now practically ruled the kingdom, and Rupert actually had to get his consent henceforth to make alliances. The king's final coronation in

Inno Sonn. Jahr. viij.
 feria quarta post Vrbani

Wota unser herre der künig hat besant
 dize nachgeschriben freygreuen mit name
 solch von werdmachusen freygreuen zu
 volmeiste Cleusen von willenbracht
 freygreuen von wallberch Sarnelen
 freygreuen zum hünne und bernhartin
 hochstet freygreuen der stule zu mül
 haust und hat die dize nachgeschriben
 frage und such im fragn des Ersten
 Quaestio prima

Was rechtens ein küniglicher künig habe
 inden frey gerichten
 Responsio

Item darauf haben so geantwort und be
 künnt das ein verclitlicher freygreue ein
 küniglichen künig belehent sein solle Man
 andere habe er künne getoalt zu richte
 anden freyen stulen er habe dann solhen
 gewalt von ein küniglichen künige Und
 derauf sol auch ein verclitlicher freygreue
 ein küniglichen künig gehorsam und in
 doring sein Als er das auch sworet so
 man ein freygreuen machet und der
 küniglichen künig so aller freyen stule und
 freygreuen oberster herre und richter

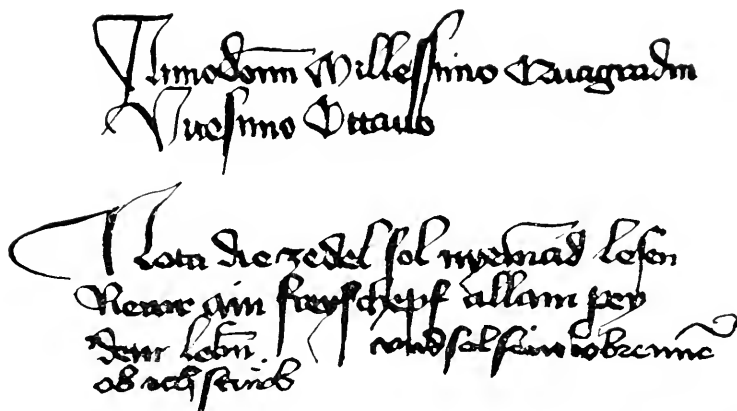


FIG. 53.—Facsimile¹ of the oldest MS. containing King Rupert's inquiries about the Westphalian private courts called *Vehmgerichte*. Dated 1408. (Nuremberg, Museum of German Antiquities.)

Aix-la-Chapelle in 1407 did not materially strengthen his position. The trouble was that he decidedly opposed public opinion in expecting only a worse split in the church from the general council. Consequently, the friends of the reform movement joined the right-minded Wenceslaus of

¹ These questions represent the first detailed account of the jurisdiction of the *Vehmgerichte*. The manuscript was once in the possession of the minstrel Oswald von Wolkenstein.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT (p. 344):

Anno domini M^o.cccc^o.viiij^o. feria quarta post urbani. Nota vnser herre der Kunig hat befant dise nachgeschriben freygreuen mit namen Gobeln von werdinchufen freygreuen zu Volmeftede Clauen von wilkenbracht freyngreuen von Walberch Steneken freyngreuen zum Hamē vnd Bernhartū Moschart freyngreuen der stule zu wilthorft vnd hat die dise nachgeschriben frage vnd fruck tun fragen des Erften

Questio prima

Was rechtens ein Römischer Künig habe in den freyn gerichtē

Responsio

Item darauf haben sy geantwort vnd bekannt, das ein yegklicher freygreue (von) ein Römischen Künig belehent sein solle wañ anders habe er keinen gewalt zu richten an den freyen stulen er habe dann solhen gewalt von ein Römischen Künige. Vnd darüb sol auch ain yegklich freygreue einē Römischen Künig gehorsam vnd vnderthenig sein Als er das auch fweret so man ein freygreuen machet vnd der Römische Künig sy aller freyen stule vnd freygreuen öbresten herre vnd richter.

(LAST THREE LINES OF FACSIMILE :

Nota die zedel sol nyemad lesen Nembr ain freyschepp allain pey dem lebn vnd sol sein verbrinnen ob ich stirb. (Here 1408 follows.)

These last lines are also written on the outside of the cover of the manuscript. The inscription, "No one shall read these memoranda except a *Freischüff*" (an officer of the court), was to preclude their use by anyone who was uninitiated, in case they should fall into his hands after the possessor's death. The inscription warned him not to read the sealed manuscript "on his life."

Bohemia; and the Council of Pisa, which was directly concerned only in the schism, received in this way an important bearing on the German empire.

Without regard to the papal threats of excommunication, the Council of Pisa met on March 25, 1409. It was a brilliant assembly. The kings of France and England were represented by stately embassies. King Rupert had also sent one, but only to subject the whole proceeding to severe criticism. He blamed the council for not having asked his opinion, whereas the cardinals of Benedict XIII. had not scrupled to turn to Charles V. of France. Rupert hit on the real question at issue when he demanded whence the cardinals suddenly derived the right to call a council. On the ground of such scruples and protests, the German king finally proposed that the council should meet with Gregory XII. so that he might fulfil the obligations imposed on him at his election. His failure to comply with them was the only thing, to Rupert's mind, against the legitimacy of the papacy. Naturally his words found no hearing, as he was inimical to the council, which was in league with Wenceslaus. Rupert's ambassadors consequently took no further part in the proceedings. But the resolutions which the council adopted were well suited to raise the hopes of the friends of reform; for it adopted Gerson's principle that the church was independent of the pope. Then it summoned both popes. As they did not appear, the council brought suit against them and declared them deposed. But here an element of weakness entered, which always doomed the whole movement to failure; for as soon as there was a new pope, he formed a nucleus which by its very nature was forced to hinder the reform through the instinct of self-preservation. And so Alexander V., who was elected pope on June 26, 1409, soon found ways and means to get rid of the Council of Pisa. He prorogued it provisionally for three years, on the pretext of the detailed preliminaries which had to be settled before the actual discussion of a reformation.

Instead of conducing to unity, the Council of Pisa only widened the breach. For as neither Gregory XII. nor Benedict XIII. submitted to its sentence, the church now had three heads. Spain and Scotland remained loyal to Benedict XIII.; King Rupert, Naples and the other Italian states sided with Gregory XII. But Alexander V. (1409-1410) increased the confusion by his manner of mixing up political and ecclesiastical affairs. The appointment of John II. of Mayence as papal legate to Germany was an act of outspoken hostility to Rupert. In the Neapolitan war of succession the pope took the part of Louis V. of Anjou against the Hungarian pretender, Ladislaus. He sent the notorious cardinal, Balthasar Cossa, against the latter, who held Rome and the

States of the Church. Cossa reconquered the latter and entered Rome in January, 1410. But although even Avignon was loyal to Alexander V., he was not generally recognized, and resided first in Pisa and then in Bologna. He became the tool of Cossa, to whom his death on May 3 was attributed, but without a shadow of evidence. On May 17, 1410, the cardinals united on the mighty Cossa, and elected him pope as John XXIII. He met only partial recognition, so the triple split in the church went on.

At the same time a like split occurred in the German kingdom. On the day after Cossa's elevation Rupert died. He had been intent to the last on gaining a worthy position, which, however, fortune denied him. The Council of Pisa had answered his hostility by advocating the restoration of Wenceslaus of Bohemia. The death of Rupert had crossed all the anti-national intrigues of John II. of Mayence against him. An interregnum of four months brought dire confusion on the realm. What followed promised even a worse outlook.

For, on the one hand, Wenceslaus of Bohemia now considered himself more than ever the legitimate king. But his claims met the bitterest opposition of the Rhenish electors, who had dethroned him. On the other hand, the electors Rudolf of Saxony and Justine of Moravia had never formally recognized King Rupert. The Moravian was now bent on winning the crown for himself. The third candidate was Wenceslaus's brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary and Margrave of Brandenburg. He had shown himself a soldier and statesman in the difficult affairs of Hungary, and seemed to many well fitted to cope with the schism on account of his cold indifference to it. His friend, Frederick VI. of Hohenzollern, the Burgrave of Nuremberg, especially solicited his election. But he did not win all the electoral votes for his candidate. A preliminary meeting at Frankfort in September, 1410, did not lead to unanimity; the kingdom, too, was not to be spared its schism. On September 20, Sigismund was elected king by the votes of Brandenburg, the Palatinate and Treves. Wenceslaus saw there was no hope of successful opposition. He could afford to be generous, and gave up his claims to the crown. In return, his vanity was flattered by the title "former Roman king and future emperor." For this concession Wenceslaus placed the Bohemian vote at the disposal of Justine of Moravia. On October 1 he was elected king by this vote and those of Mayence, Cologne and Saxony. The triple schism in the church had found its counterpart in the German kingdom. Equally decayed, both church and state could hope for improvement only from a thoroughgoing reformation.

But a restless ferment had already begun to work in the field of social

life, which pointed toward a necessary reorganization. The social revolution started in Bohemia where it had left off in England in the time of Wycliffe. To be sure, it was less harmonious and more passionate. Its effects spread far beyond the boundaries of Bohemia and soon reached an almost fatal universal significance.

For a long time Bohemia had been in a state of religious excitement. The Bohemians felt the contrast between the excellent political order introduced by Charles IV. and the depravity of the church, with particular keenness. Together with the king, the noble Archbishop Arnest of Prague had exerted himself to raise the intellectual and ecclesiastical life of the country to a higher level. The activity of many popular preachers was due to him. Their disgust at the dirty and often immoral mendicant monks and at image- and saint-worship led them toward a reform. Their movement was colored by their enthusiastic love for the Bohemian nationality. The second successor of Arnest of Prague, John II. of Jenzenstein, favored the movement. When he willingly withdrew in 1396, Bohemia was already in a state of national and religious excitement. Here the activity of John Huss sets in. He was born in 1369 at Husínee, whence the abbreviated form of his name. He founded the Bohemian church on the doctrines of Wycliffe, which he embodied unchanged in his teaching.

In estimating the character and activity of Huss, it is well to recall a remark once made by him: he said he had entered the clergy from purely worldly motives. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that he had only mediocre talents and lacked higher spiritual gifts. Nor did his learning amount to much. From the year 1398, however, he delivered lectures at the University of Prague. He does not seem to have achieved great success in this capacity, but he appears rather to have distinguished himself for his nationalistic agitation. That put him at the head of the Bohemian "nation" at the university, as against the German one. In 1401 he was made dean of the philosophical faculty, and in 1403 rector of the university. Meanwhile he preached at the Bethlehem chapel in Prague, a foundation where the national Czech sermon was to be especially cultivated. About this time Huss became acquainted with Wycliffe's writings. Prague and Oxford then stood in close relationship, and many Bohemians went to the English university. A younger friend of Huss, Jerome of Prague, had been there and had copied Wycliffe's *Triologus* and *Dialogus* while in England. Through him Huss became acquainted with the English reformer's works. With his whole soul Huss devoted himself to the study of the new teaching. He drew practical conclusions from it which Wycliffe himself had shunned. Huss's doctrine is original

in no part. In fact, it is often taken word for word from Wycliffe's works. Consequently Huss contributed nothing whatever to the development of the reform-movement. Even the later additions to the revolutionary movement in Bohemia did not originate with Huss, strictly speaking. They were only the natural outgrowth of national characteristics.

External circumstances favored the agitation of Huss. Since the days of the archbishops Arnest and Jenzenstein of Prague a fresh reformatory spirit was alive in Bohemia. King Wenceslaus wished the movement well, even if his chief object was only to use it against the league of Bohemian knights. In consequence, Huss easily won influence at court. The national hostility now became the stronger because the Germans were opposed to all ecclesiastical innovations. At first this caused conflicts at the university. The conservatives had already tried to prevent the spread of Hussite doctrines by having twenty-five of Huss's articles condemned in 1402; but when this measure was unsuccessful, they began to persecute the adherents of Huss. They did not dare to touch the latter himself.

The summons to the Council of Pisa started the movement anew. The national opposition increased in Bohemia; for while King Wenceslaus zealously upheld the council and discarded Gregory XII., the Bohemian episcopate generally adhered to him. Of the four nations into which the teachers and students at the University of Prague were divided, three took the latter position. The fourth one, the Bohemian, declared itself neutral. To avert antagonism, Wenceslaus now reorganized the university so that, by a redivision of votes, the Bohemian or reform party had a majority. On account of this illegal infringement of their rights, the German professors and students left Prague and went to Saxony. There they formed the nucleus of the University of Leipsic. Wenceslaus was rid of his most uncomfortable enemies; besides, Archbishop Shinceo hastened to submit to Pope Alexander V. Huss, too, thought that the game was won, and showed a more confident and radical spirit in his writings and sermons. Thus a conflict was inevitable. Alexander V. demanded repressive measures. Wycliffe's works were suppressed and burned. The open-air preaching of Huss and his disciples was forbidden. Naturally the agitators took no heed. Huss appealed to Pope John XXIII., who excommunicated him, notwithstanding. The popular excitement ran high. The popular sermons only increased. But not only the lowest classes, but the citizens and nobility, and even King Wenceslaus took the part of Huss. Just then Huss was summoned to Rome. Wenceslaus did not allow him to answer the summons. He would not let

him be heard except in Prague and before papal commissioners. In the next year, 1411, the pope excommunicated Huss and laid the interdict on Prague. Huss continued to declare his orthodoxy and denounce the charge of heresy as rank calumny. In spite of the inconsistency and vagueness of Huss's position, John XXIII. desired to compose the affair peaceably. It seems almost as if he was inclined to overlook the doings of Huss and his hot-blooded countrymen. But events put an end to the pope's policy of peace. In the first place, Archbishop Sbinco, who was so well fitted for mediation, died in September, 1411. Secondly, the pope fairly challenged the Bohemian opposition by issuing indulgences (Fig. 54) to raise means for his war with Ladislaus of Naples. The passions of the people were so aroused that they publicly burned the papal bull which offered the indulgences. Now nothing remained for John XXIII. but to overthrow the opposition and put a violent end to the further activity of Huss. He brought suit against him on the charge of heresy, excommunicated him again, and once more laid the interdict on Prague. Thereupon Huss left the narrow ground of national church reform, on which he and his followers had been standing, and entered on the field of general reform by appealing from the pope to a general council and to Christ as the supreme judge. Not to cause worse excesses, Huss retired to the country, where he composed his work on the church (*De Ecclesia*) which is almost a verbatim copy of the like-named work of Wycliffe.

Huss's appeal to a general council met the spirit of the age, and justified and recommended the conciliar movement. His action made a resumption of the work of the Council of Pisa probable. The removal of the triple kingship in Germany took a great obstacle out of its course. It restored unity, and enabled the German king to throw in his weight on the side of the general council and abrogate the abuses under discussion. The death of Justine of Moravia had removed one of the three kings. As he died childless, Wenceslaus inherited Moravia and Lusatia, and Sigismund got back the march of Brandenburg which he had mortgaged to his cousin. Sigismund now succeeded in inducing the Bohemian king to recognize him as king of Germany. Then he bought off John II. of Mayence. In July, 1411, Sigismund was again elected king. The united realm could now take decisive action in the great church movement, provided the king could free himself from the political embarrassments which just then drew him in another direction; for he was engaged in a war with the Poles and Lithuanians. But it came to an end unexpectedly. A truce was made with Venice, so that Sigismund could march to Italy in the autumn of 1411. He went there to



redeem his pledge to the electors, of regaining Milan. He made no impression on the Visconti, to be sure, but induced John XXIII. to



FIG. 55.—Entry of Pope John XXIII. into Constance. Illustration in Ulrich von Richental's Chronicle of the Council of Constance, written about 1417. Preserved in the Public Library of Constance. (This and the following illustrations are taken from Wolf's photographic edition of the Chronicle.)

summon the council which had been due for some time. John had been defeated by Ladislaus of Naples, and had sought refuge in Florence. From here he applied to Sigismund for help. The king granted it on condition that the pope should summon a council. The pope resisted long, but Sigismund remained firm. John finally acceded to the king's additional demand that the council should meet on German territory. He accordingly summoned it to meet at Constance on November 8, 1414.

The council met in the nave of the cathedral, which was furnished with the necessary arrangements. At the end of October, John XXIII. entered the city (Fig. 55) and took his residence in the episcopal palace. But when the opening day of the council came it was far from complete. Sigismund himself was still absent. In fact, it seemed doubtful whether he could come at all; for when he finally left Hungary for Germany in 1414, he found such a lukewarm reception and was so discouraged at the condition of affairs that he wished to lay down his crown. However, his old friend and adviser, Frederick VI. of Hohenzollern, kept him from this extreme step. Besides, his position soon improved. In November he was solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Thence he proceeded down the Rhine and arrived at Constance on Christmas eve.

Gayety and color filled the quiet city and its picturesque surroundings with animated life. A citizen of Constance, Ulrich von Richental, who undertook to make a list of the visitors, rated them at 72,000. There were 39 dukes, 32 counts and barons of princely rank, 141 counts, 71 barons and more than 1500 knights. The train of these noblemen amounted to 20,000 squires. The number of the clergy was still larger. Altogether there were 17,000 of different rank, while 37 universities had sent 2000 representatives. Then there were the ambassadors of absent kings and princes and those of the cities.

Before the council could discuss the three principal points, namely, the heresy of Huss, the removal of the schism, and the reformation of the church, a preliminary point had to be cleared up; for its whole position depended on the relation in which it stood to the prorogued Council of Pisa. Was it the continuation of that council or a new one? John XXIII. of course declared it a continuation, because that excluded every doubt as to the legitimacy of his papacy. This conception obtained, too; but the pope soon learned that he had not won the whole battle. Another division had taken place in the council; for while John and almost all the numerous Italian clergy wished to see the Bohemian heresy exterminated first, and would push the questions of the schism and church reform aside, the other party wished these points to be discussed first. The decision depended on the nature of the voting in

the council. If every cleric present was to have a vote, the Italians would have the majority. That would put an end to the reform immediately. But in this all-important matter the reform party was victorious. It put it through that every one of the four nations present, the Italian, French, English and German, should have but one collective vote. The other points in the order of business were also carried essentially in favor of the friends of reform. The cardinals were to form a separate college, to be sure, but to have no sort of privileges. The proceedings were carried on chiefly between the nations and the committees appointed by them. These were to effect an understanding the more readily. Consequently, public meetings of the whole council seldom took place, or were of a formal nature. They were held only to hear the proclamation of agreements previously made between the nations.

It had probably not been the intention of the reform party to bring a formal accusation against John XXIII., whose life as Balthasar Cossa had been objectionable. That was practically precluded by the recognition of the Council of Constance as the continuation of that of Pisa, which had elected John. But now severe strictures on the former life of the pope were offered in public. His willingness to abdicate amounted to a confession of guilt in the eyes of many, and moved the council to bring suit against him. Meanwhile he escaped, in March, 1415, with the aid of Duke Frederick of Austria, and issued a violent protest against the proceedings of the council. His flight made the council waver, and many were disposed to leave hastily. But the energetic opposition of Sigismund succeeded finally in making the reform movement go on the faster for the removal of the papal obstacle. The result was that decided action at last followed on theoretical discussion. In its fifth general meeting on April 6, 1415, the council issued the bull *Sacrosancta*. This proclaimed that the council was independent of the pope and stood above him in matters of reform. Such a standpoint was extra-canonical, to be sure. However, at the time, no one earnestly urged that the council had exceeded its competency, because no progress would have been possible otherwise.

Once the council had forsaken legal ground it continued in that course. It took the most energetic measures against Frederick of Austria, who had abetted John XXIII. in his escape. Sigismund brought his royal authority to bear on him in such a manner and with such success as had long been unknown. He deprived Frederick of his royal fiefs and of his rule, and finally imprisoned him. The suit against the pope took on a double character. The seventy-two articles directed against Balthasar Cossa showed that the council wished to depose him at

any price ; it was not so much its intention to render a fair verdict after a conscientious examination of the evidence. According to the charges, the whole career of John would have been one great crime. But the whole accusation was intentionally rhetorical ; for the crushing weight of the charge was to compensate for what the proceeding lacked in legality. Nevertheless, in the course of the trial eighteen points of the accusation were dropped, and only fifty-four were used as a basis for deposition, which was pronounced against John XXIII. on May 29, 1415. That such a career had been possible to such a man and with such means as the charges exposed, was the most convincing proof of the irreparable degradation of the church and the urgent necessity of reform.

But those who had thought that the deposition of the pope would give the work of reform free scope were disappointed. On the contrary, it appeared that the greatest opposition and the most serious difficulties lay in another quarter. To recommend their work by a tangible proof of their unimpeachable orthodoxy, the leaders of the reform party, led by Cardinal d'Ailly, made a special point of persecuting the representative of the Bohemian heresy as ruthlessly as the pope. During the succeeding weeks the proceedings against Huss consequently took the chief place in the public interest. Thereafter it was said the wiping out of the schism should precede everything. But several months passed, so that the council did not attack the principal question until the third year, all-important as it was.

To be sure, the deposition of John XXIII. had made such an impression on Gregory XII., who was at Rimini, that he declared his willingness to abdicate on certain conditions. Carlo Malatesta, under whose protection the pope lived, negotiated for him at Constance. On July 4, 1415, Gregory abdicated, and was rewarded with the dignity of Cardinal-Bishop of Porto and legate of Ancona. On the other hand, the anti-pope Benedict XIII. still rejected all offers. Sigismund himself finally took the matter in hand, and hastened to Southern France, where were adherents of the prelate, who, meanwhile, was at the castle of Peniscola, near Valencia, with his faithful cardinals. In Perpignan, Sigismund treated with Ferdinand, king of Aragon. Benedict came, too, but was so insolent at the head of his Catalonian mercenaries that Sigismund left. Then the protectors of the anti-pope finally came to terms. They sent word to the German king at Narbonne that they would renounce Benedict if he should persist in rejecting an agreement such as the one accepted by Gregory XII. As Benedict persisted, the princes carried out their threat. In December, 1418, the kings of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, as well as the counts of Foix and Armagnac, made a treaty

with Sigismund at Narbonne. They promised participation in the Council of Constance, and assured Benedict XIII. of a safe conduct to it. But the anti-pope did not take advantage of the proffered escape out of his dilemma. Accordingly, the council brought suit against him and deposed him, on July 26, 1417. He never submitted to the sentence. After his death, in 1424, a petty schism and double election even occurred between his faithful cardinals, which of course did not disturb the church.

The unity of the church was restored, but it was a question whether the price paid was not too high ; for Sigismund's long absence had caused disintegration in the council. There was no longer any common aim. Each party emphasized those points in which it differed from the others, a tendency that threatened to remove the compromise on the principal question out of possible reach. A passionate party strife blazed up. Two groups are distinguishable in it ; they might be called the Conservatives and the Liberals. The first wished to retain the Mediaeval church unchanged. It was recruited from most of the cardinals and the Italian and Spanish clergy. The liberal party was much less united. However, its divisions concurred in the demand that the absolute monarchy of the church must be replaced by an aristocratic constitutional organization. This could be effected by transferring the highest authority in the church from the papacy to the episcopal council. The liberal party consisted chiefly of the French, the Germans, and the English. But it shaded off so imperceptibly into the conservative party that a great part of it might more properly be called the middle party. Generally speaking, neither of the two parties was firmly knit together. Consequently, one or another group impeded the progress of the proceedings, because, whenever they took a displeasing turn, it left the council temporarily and thus made universally binding resolutions impossible.

After Sigismund's return to Constance, however, matters improved. His appearance put an end to the dissension and bound the reform party to more energetic and methodical actions. The reform decree of October 9, 1417, set up, in the main, the programme for the reorganization of the church. The first of its five articles regulated the holding of general councils in the following way :—The next one was to be held in five years, the second seven years later, and the succeeding ones at intervals of ten years. The second article aimed at preventing future schisms by providing for the meeting of a general council immediately after a contested election. Forced elections should in every case be null and void. The third article related to the true faith. It ordered the pope-elect to make a solemn confession of faith before his election was proclaimed. The fourth article was to put an end

to the nuisance of translating bishops for the sake of the consequent dues, which had been practiced since John XXII. Finally, the fifth article forbade the exercise of the *jus spolii* (see p. 140) and the granting of procurations to the exclusion of those really entitled to the living. Another general reform decree laid down rules for the coming papal election. It was to be held by the cardinals, but their college was to be strengthened for the occasion by six representatives of each of the five



FIG. 56.—Royal Seal of Sigismund. (Berlin.)

nations. This was a victory for the conservatives, who did not consider a council without a legitimate pope as truly representative of the church. And many of the liberals, too, thought that the proceedings could not be generally binding until the church had received a head which could direct its reorganization. On the other hand, there was the fear lest the new pope would try to prevent a reformation which threatened him with a great diminution of power. But the council anticipated

that by another decree which laid definite obligations on the pope. Still, it contained a marked limitation of the original demands of the reform party; for, in the first place, the future reformation was restricted to the head of the church and the Roman court. That gave the whole proceeding a hostile partisan character which was bound to lead those threatened by it to a firmer resistance. Furthermore, only eighteen points were to be settled by the future pope, together with the council or with a committee of the nations. These points concerned chiefly the nationality and qualifications of the cardinals, reservations, annats, and appeals to Rome. The reform party thus beat a retreat in the essential questions, and the energy of the council was again spent. The renewed absence of Sigismund (Fig. 56) completely crippled it. Add to that, political difficulties which weakened the regained authority of the king over the princes.

Various circumstances concurred to jeopardize the unity of the German kingdom once more and to hinder the execution of the political reform plans which Sigismund thus cherished. These reforms alone could give the kingdom the necessary authority to keep the recalcitrant church in the path entered upon by the Council of Pisa. But the princes were suspicious of ulterior motives in the king's plan of dividing the kingdom into a number of circles, a plan which goes back to Wenceslaus. Presently John II. of Mayence renewed his intrigues and formed a league of Rhine princes. It stood forth as the protector of Frederick of Austria, who had been so severely punished, though he had escaped from his confinement in 1418. Outlawed by the king and excommunicated by the church, he took to arms. He determined, with the aid of the princes, to recover his lands which the Swiss had invaded. In vain Sigismund called on these for help. Left in the lurch, he had to come to terms with the opposition and restore his lands and rights to Frederick. A severe defeat for the kingdom! Only Frederick VI. of Hohenzollern remained true to his king in this critical period. His relation to Sigismund received a higher political significance because of the eminent position to which the king could raise his trusted adviser and friend during the Council of Constance.

In the first half of the eleventh century we first meet in Swabia that family which called itself Hohenzollern, after its towering ancestral castle. We can trace it in unbroken descent from the time of Emperor Frederick I. The king then bestowed the burgraviate of Nuremberg, together with the administration of the vast crown-domains in Franconia, upon the Hohenzollerns. There they gradually amassed large estates, so that, without being of princely rank, they had a princely position. As

their interests coincided with those of the emperor and empire, the Hohenzollerns always remained true to them. Especially since Frederick III. had helped his cousin of Hapsburg to get the German crown, his family was considered the strongest pillar of the national cause. Not until 1363 were they raised to the rank of princes of the empire. Following the ancestral policy of his family, Frederick VI. had been Sigismund's mainstay in Hungary. The election of Sigismund as emperor and his general recognition were chiefly the work of the Hohenzollern, who had been particularly successful in the administration of the decayed March of Brandenburg, which Sigismund had transferred to him in 1411, with all the rights of a margrave except the electoral vote. Probably the king already had the gift of the latter in mind. By a charter dated April 30, 1415, Sigismund transferred to Frederick the marches of Brandenburg, with the inherent dignity of the arch-chamberlain of the empire and the accompanying electorate. But not until 1417 did Sigismund solemnly enfeoff Frederick at Constance (Figs. 57 and 58). As Frederick I. of Brandenburg (1415-1440), the Hohenzollern remained a trustworthy supporter of the royal policy as long as it was directed to the welfare of the kingdom and did not follow the one-sided interests of the house of Luxemburg. Later, however, when it took this course more and more, he was also forced to break the old connection and join the opposition. But no more than formerly could he secure the victory of the king's plans of religious and political reform.

Matters went from bad to worse at the Council of Constance. The election of the pope was of great importance to the opposition, for now in him it received a natural leader. To be sure, Martin V. (1417-1431) was not a stickler for the old régime, but saw the necessity of a certain reform, and was willing to lend a hand to it. But he was opposed to the reigning tendency, in so far as he disapproved of the permanent supervision of the papal court by the general council. Consequently, his chief object was to avert the danger which threatened the papacy from this side. In this he succeeded the more easily as he knew the dissension of the parties and played off one nation against the other. By granting them their individual wishes he moved them to renounce the great general demands which they had hitherto supported. The obligations laid upon the pope before his election, he fulfilled superficially and literally. But he avoided satisfying their essence by laying a corresponding draft of them before the council in January, 1418; this was so worded that it precluded an agreement on the part of the council, so that the responsibility for its failure could be foisted on that body itself. That discouraged the council from continuing negotiations which did not promise a satisfactory result.

Consequently, the council fell far behind even the modest programme of October 9, 1417.



FIGS. 57, 58.—Enfeoffment of Burggrave Frederick of Nuremberg with the Margraviate of Brandenburg. (From the *Chronicle of Ulrich von Richental*, Public Library of Constance.) In the original the illustrations face each other, as here. Fig. 8 shows the emperor holding a sword erect in his hand and surrounded by his court-officials.

Accordingly, the seven general reform decrees of the forty-third sitting of the council on March 21, 1418, aimed at removing practically



FIG. 58.—This side represents the Burggrave with the flag which symbolizes the transference of the fief into his hands; on it is the eagle of Brandenburg.

only some of the worst abuses of the papal financial system. In so doing the council, which had raised such high hopes and made such sweeping demands originally, believed it had done its task. Satisfied with having restricted the financial trickery of the papal court somewhat, the council dispensed with the further discussion of the internal questions of church government and dogma. It left their regulation to the special arrangement of the pope with the individual nations. Thereby the council inconsistently enough again dropped its great idea of the inner unity of the church.

This act gave the advantage completely to the papacy; for the concordats which Martin V. made with the Italians, French and Spaniards only covered secondary complaints; furthermore, they were to last only five years, and, were not to put older rights in question. The concordat which the pope made with the German nation, which included also the Scandinavians, Poles and Hungarians, was no more advantageous. Some years after the close of the council, England received a more favorable treaty; but this was due to its peculiar attitude toward the papacy on account of the Hundred Years' War and the national religious movement of Wycliffe. The English concordat not only confirmed the greater independence of England from Rome and did more thoroughly away with the papal financial oppression than the other concordats, but it was also to be a permanent arrangement.

The council now considered its task done. But how sadly insignificant were its results! The papacy came out of the great crisis with scarcely any loss of power. The concordats bound it for only five years. After that time the papacy could count on entirely dividing its enemies, and might thus return openly to its old absolutistic principles. For it was not to be expected that general councils would be held regularly, as had been stipulated. Naturally Martin V. at first made as if he were in earnest, by issuing summons for a council to be held in Pavia in five years. He dismissed the Council of Constance at its forty-fifth session on April 22, 1418. Its members went home. While the French tried to keep him longer and Sigismund invited him to Germany, Pope Martin V. shrewdly went his way to Italy to take his seat in Rome. In May Sigismund also left Constance.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HUSSITE WARS, THE COUNCIL OF BASEL, AND THE DOWN- FALL OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

(A. D. 1419-1449.)

THE hopes set on the Council of Constance had met with utter disappointment. Its activity had improved neither the mediæval church nor the state. It had not even taken in hand the social reform which was inseparably connected with the ecclesiastical one. Of all the errors of the council the persecution of John Huss was undoubtedly the gravest, for it not only unchained a general revolution, but cut off the hope of serious reform by burning the Bohemian apostle of Wycliffe's teaching. That was the great crime of the reform party. To clear itself from every suspicion of heresy and to prove the sincerity of its reforms by an act of orthodox zeal, this reform was bent on prosecuting and executing Huss. To be sure, other motives prompted the party. In condemning Huss, scholasticism aimed a retarded blow at Wycliffe's principle of free investigation. Besides, the clerical friends of reform never forgot the manner in which Huss had scorned them and lowered them in the people's estimation. Furthermore, the Germans burned with the desire to call their leader to account for the hatred which the intolerant Czechs had vented on them.

It is significant that at first even the orthodox did not consider Huss a heretic. Sigismund himself thought that it was only a case of misunderstanding between Huss and his foes. He took it that further discussion would clear it up satisfactorily. The guilt of Huss consisted, to the mind of a Council at Prague, only in his not having been released from the ban of the church. Consequently, his adherents hoped for an understanding; they wished him to be cleared from the suspicion of heresy, which he himself felt most deeply. In any case, Huss had a very false conception of what awaited him in Constance, when three Bohemian noblemen conducted him thither in October, 1414. Not until his arrival did he receive the letter which guaranteed him only "safe conduct to an open, peaceable, and befitting hearing." It did not, and legally could not, assure him of immunity from punishment and unhindered return. The implicit trust of Huss was characteristic of his rash heedlessness. He does not

seem to have doubted a favorable issue, and seems to have felt sure of his cause.

At first everything promised well, too. Pope John XXIII. was mild and conciliatory ; besides, no one thought at first of prosecuting Huss (Fig. 59). For, considering previous proceedings, and his repeated denial of heresy, everyone expected that he would again simply declare his orthodoxy, and thus make a peaceful agreement possible ; but that was not his idea in the least ; Huss did not wish to be deprived of the chance of distinctly declaring his standpoint before the council. But as the only



FIG. 59.—Silver coin commemorating the death of Huss, called *Husthaler*. Original size. Obverse: Portrait of Huss * CREDO * VNAM * ESSE ECCLESIAM * SANCTAM * CATHOLICAM. IOA HVS. Reverse: * CENTVM * REVOLVTIS * ANNIS * DEO * RESPONDEBITIS * ET * MIHI * IO * HVS ANNO * A * CHRIS(T)I * NATO * 1415. CONDEMNATVR. (Berlin.)

serious doubt as to the relation of Wycliffe's teaching to his lay in his own mind, Huss might have been content with the simple declaration that he did not deviate from the orthodox faith, without burdening his conscience in any way. He would have done the cause of reformation a great service thereby ; but his native enemies, likewise, were not satisfied with such an issue. They forced John and the cardinals to begin an examination, by handing in a formal accusation against Huss.

On November 28, Huss answered the summons to the council. Again he asserted his orthodox standpoint ; his theological discussion with a learned Franciscan did not tell against him ; but his Bohemian opponents, who knew his tactics, forced him into open contradiction of the teaching of the church. Thereupon cardinals demanded his arrest ; the pope submitted with bad grace. From the beginning of December, 1414, Huss lay imprisoned in the Dominican convent of Constance, confident of a favorable outcome of his cause. Pope John was soon in such straits himself that he had to look out for his own rescue and leave the Bohemian

to his fate. Out of consideration for Sigismund the enemies of Huss thought it best to proceed according to law; therefore, the committee of investigation wished Huss at first only to accept a theological arbitration; but Huss obstinately refused even that; he insisted on a formal hearing by the whole council. The deposition of John XXIII., a triumph of the reform party, essentially injured the position of Huss. Henceforth, he was strongly suspected of heresy, and transferred to the monastery of Gottlieben for close confinement. There the hearings and theological disputations began; they sought to make out clearly Huss's standpoint, which it was difficult to appreciate. The result was that twenty-two sentences, chiefly from his book, *De Ecclesia*, which was modelled after Wycliffe's, were condemned as heretical. That amounted to a final sentence. What would befall Huss, if he did not recant, was evident from the previous condemnation of Wycliffe's teaching on May 4, 1415.

On June 5, 1415, the first hearing of Huss took place in the presence of a numerous assembly, not before the council. The accusation was read. Instead of adopting the plan of Huss for a detailed discussion, the court demanded his simple yea or nay in answer to all questions. When Huss refused this, the meeting ended in a wild tumult. At its resumption, two days later, Pierre d'Ailly presided, and Sigismund was present. This time a dogmatic discussion took place. Huss was not quite honest in his explanations, and indulged in equivocal rhetorical fencing; he raised the impossible claim that his condemned articles should not be taken in the sense which theological usage applied to them, but rather in his own subjective interpretation. That was all very well; but it would not have kept others in the future from understanding them in the sense discarded by the church, and from drawing further conclusions therefrom. In consequence, Huss aroused especial opposition in the reform party; to his unbounded subjectivity they opposed, in their own interest, the unconditional submission to the council; an understanding was impossible. On being accused of Wycliffism, Huss protested that he had never spread the English reformer's doctrines, and tried to put another sense on those contained in his own writings which might be acceptable to the church; but the council could not allow this kind of word-fighting; by turning his own appeal to a general council against Huss, the council persisted in its demand of unconditional submission to its sentence.

Even his well-wishers had been put out by the ambiguous declarations of Huss. Sigismund was estranged from him, too. He took occasion to declare that he had granted Huss safe conduct only for an open, peaceable, and befitting hearing, although some argued that he was not

justified in going even to this length in the case of a suspected heretic. He advised Huss not to be obstinate, but to sue the council for pardon, which would be glad to deal leniently with him. In other words, Huss was not to seek protection from Sigismund, who has been accused for this reason of having dishonorably broken the safe conduct which he had granted Huss; but very unjustly so. Sigismund could not have acted differently in view of the existing law without becoming guilty of illegal interference. On June 8, 1415, the third hearing took place. To please Huss the controverted points were discussed. The bad impression which his persistent vagueness made naturally did not help his cause. Huss declared his willingness to be convinced of the untenableness of his views, but demanded permission to expound them in detail. But the commission insisted on a simple recantation and a promise to follow the orthodox teaching faithfully henceforth. Huss had to take his decision. He declared that he was willing to renounce proved errors, but that by a general recantation he would confess errors of which he was not actually guilty. Huss shrank from this step because it would have indirectly involved the whole Bohemian nation, which would have considered it treachery. This consideration, it appears, decided his action. It made recantation impossible. He was led back to prison.

The bearing of Huss had not won him sympathy. Sigismund (Fig. 60) probably expressed the general feeling when he said that he would not trust Huss even if he recanted, and that he ought to be handed over to the law. Thus he formally placed the reformer outside of his protection. Still, even if no legal objections can be raised against it, the king's proceedings remain very objectionable on moral grounds. Huss's continued equivocal bearing, however, justified the suspicion he raised; for while he declared his willingness to recant, he declined to give any guarantee for the fulfilment of his promise. He even declared openly that he would rather die a heretic than make a statement which confessed him guilty of heresy. His scruples were indulged, and d'Ailly proposed that Huss renounce only particular articles by declaring on his oath that he had never given them the sense applied to them by the church. Greater acquiescence was inadmissible. Nevertheless, Huss stood on his refusal, which indeed his principles forced him to do. In the fifteenth sitting of the council on July 6, 1415, the die was cast. Huss was expelled from his order as an obstinate heretic, on the ground of thirty articles from his writings. After he had been deprived of his clerical office, he was handed over to the temporal court for condign punishment. Its nature depended on his future conduct. If he recanted, his sentence was to be life-long imprisonment in a monastery.

His refusal doomed him to the stake. Again Huss protested that his doctrine was in accordance with that of the church. According to a remark of his own, he persisted in maintaining his innocence chiefly



FIG. 60.—Emperor Sigismund's solemn procession with the consecrated Golden Rose which the pope gave him in Constance. (From Ulrich von Richental's Chronicle, written about 1417; Public Library, Constance.)

because he did not wish to give the people and the priests who taught his doctrine any offence.

The final act soon followed. Huss was stripped of his clerical robes, his tonsure cut away, and the heretic's cap, with the painted devils, put on his head. He was led (Fig. 61) amidst a great crowd to the gate leading to Zelting, where he was to be executed in the swamp. He was soon tied to the stake, and about him wood and straw were heaped reaching to the level of his face. Once more they asked him to recant. He answered that he had always striven to preserve mankind from sin, and now he wished by a courageous death to strengthen the evangelical truth which he had preached on the basis of the Scriptures. The flames were soon playing about the stake. The prayers of the victim came out from them to the last moment. Jerome of Prague, Huss's friend, could no longer escape his doom. He had been excommunicated once before, but was again reconciled to the church. A second lapse brought down proceedings on him at Constance. His miserable captivity and the fear of death led him to recant. But when he finally took back his recantation he was burned, May 30, 1418.

The condemnation of Huss decided the fate of the church reform at which the Council of Constance had aimed. To clear it of every suspicion of heretical aberration the friends of the reform had sacrificed the Bohemian renewer of Wycliffe's teaching. The agitation of Huss roused the Czechs to national consciousness more than ever. They rushed furiously upon the Germans. The effect was the greater as the national antagonism between the Slavs and Germans had just then blazed up with unwonted violence. The united Slavs had sought to overwhelm the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Although the threatening catastrophe had been averted, the Slavs were puffed up with pride since the day of Tannenberg. Now the Bohemians, who burned to avenge the death of their national prophet, also joined the Poles.

While the proceedings against Huss were still going on, the Bohemian movement had taken on a new character. At any rate, it threw a peculiar light on the avowed orthodoxy of Huss, that his adherents should already offer the chalice at communion even to laymen, and that, too, with the consent of their imprisoned master. Henceforth, all other differences vanished, and the chalice, as symbolical of communion in both kinds, became the emblem of the whole movement. Wenceslaus at first continued to favor the Hussites. Then, according to his wont, he suddenly opposed them with vigor. Party conflicts ensued, and a great tumult broke out in Prague in August, 1419. Wenceslaus died that very month, which only made matters worse. Sigismund was his rightful



FIG. 61.—Huss unfrocked as cleric (above), and on his way to the stake, wearing the heretic's cap with the painted devils. (From Ulrich von Richental's Chronicle.)

successor, as king of Bohemia, but the estates would not hear of him. The nobility used the situation to enrich themselves. But the Hussites were far removed from unity. They soon split into two parties. The moderate one, called Calixtines or Utraquists, demanded the eucharist in both forms for the laity, sermons in the native tongue, the apostolic poverty of the clergy, and the jurisdiction of the congregation in matters of mortal sin. The Taborites, so-called after their meeting-place on Mount Tabor, were the radicals. They demanded the examination of everything not implicitly justified by the Bible. This revolutionary principle forced the Taborites to deal with many social questions. In Bohemia the social and economic misery was so unbearable, that reform, the impetus once given it, continued to act with the violence of a natural force. The destruction of the old régime with its inequality and serfdom was the unanimous wish of the peasants and poorer citizens. They rose and took bloody revenge on their oppressors. Only the Taborites had a lucid idea of the sort of rule which was to follow. These radicals proclaimed the absolute equality of all the believers. Wealth and education should no longer create privileges, and laymen and priest were no longer to form distinct classes. They preached the emancipation of women, and demanded the removal of all traditional legal and moral restrictions, so that their state might be founded on the principle of unlimited popular sovereignty. The only distinction which the Taborites made, that between the faithful and unfaithful, led to the insurrection of the masses, on the curbing of which the prevalent social order had rested. This constitutes the peculiarity of the Hussite wars, to which history offers some parallels, to be sure: for instance, the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. But the military organization of the Hussites has no parallel. The direction of the military system of the Taborities was in the hands of four captains, or directors, of whom John Ziska of Troznov (Fig. 62) was the most famous. In 1410 he had fought at Tannenberg against the Teutonic Order. In Hungary he had drawn his sword against the Turks, and in 1415 against the French at Agincourt. Thus he had acquired a knowledge of the military art, by means of which he transformed the raw Bohemian recruits in an incredibly short time into an invincible army. Feudal tactics were useless in the face of it. The horror which soon went before the Hussites attached chiefly to the name of Ziska. Still, he was never the only leader of the Taborites; he always divided the command with others, even if his influence at times predominated on account of his experience and his successes. He was really only a general; for he not only lacked the gifts of the statesman, but was not even



FIG. 62.—Ziska: Clad in his armor, which is preserved at the Castle of Ambras in the Tyrol. (After an etching in a work of the year 1602 dealing with the collection of armor at the said castle.)

orthodox in the eyes of the severest Taborites. However, he atoned for this discrepancy by his pertinacity, which had the same effect on friend and foe. This very quality gave him and his army a great advantage over his opponents, who lacked unity and method. Also certain technical innovations helped the Hussites to their victories, which soon filled the conquered with a belief in their invincibility. The skilful evolutions of their infantry wrought less havoc with the enemy than the use to which Ziska put his camp-followers and their numerous wagons. On the advance the wagons covered the army's flanks by two long rows on either side. During an attack they were driven into the enemy's ranks, confusing and dividing them, so as to effect an entrance for the foot-soldiers. Then, again, they formed a retreat and support by being chained together in the rear of the fighting army.

At the beginning of the Hussite wars, Sigismund's cause was not hopeless. By timely concessions he could have won over the moderate Calixtines. Besides, there were other dissensions in the Hussite ranks which he might have used to detach this or that group. But Sigismund failed to take advantage of the situation. He persisted in opposing the movement strenuously, although the Turks again closed on him in Hungary, and the Russo-Polish war threatened a general Slavie union against the Germans. His chief object was to avert the latter danger. Consequently, he did not devote his attention directly to Bohemia, but rather to diplomatic negotiations with foreign states, so as to prevent their abetting the rebels there.

At first the Calixtines, at least, hoped for the acceptance of their demands; for Sigismund transferred the regency to Wenceslaus's widow and to some Bohemian counsellors who were considered friends of the Hussites. But negotiations pointing to an understanding led to no results and seemed to have been undertaken to save time. Besides, the regent allied herself with some spiritual and temporal lords to ward off the disgrace of heresy which had fallen on Bohemia. Thereby she openly challenged the Hussites, who still maintained that they were orthodox. In November, 1419, a tumult broke out in Prague, which filled the city for several days. It ended when religious freedom was granted to the Hussites, who, in return, promised to spare the churches and monasteries. But Sigismund would hear of no such compact. At a diet held in Breslau in the spring of 1420, he took decisive steps toward interference. A general war was declared against the Bohemians, and the pope had a crusade preached against them.

Thus one of the most terrible wars in history broke out in 1420 (cf. Fig. 63). The first decisive battle occurred near Prague; at the siege of

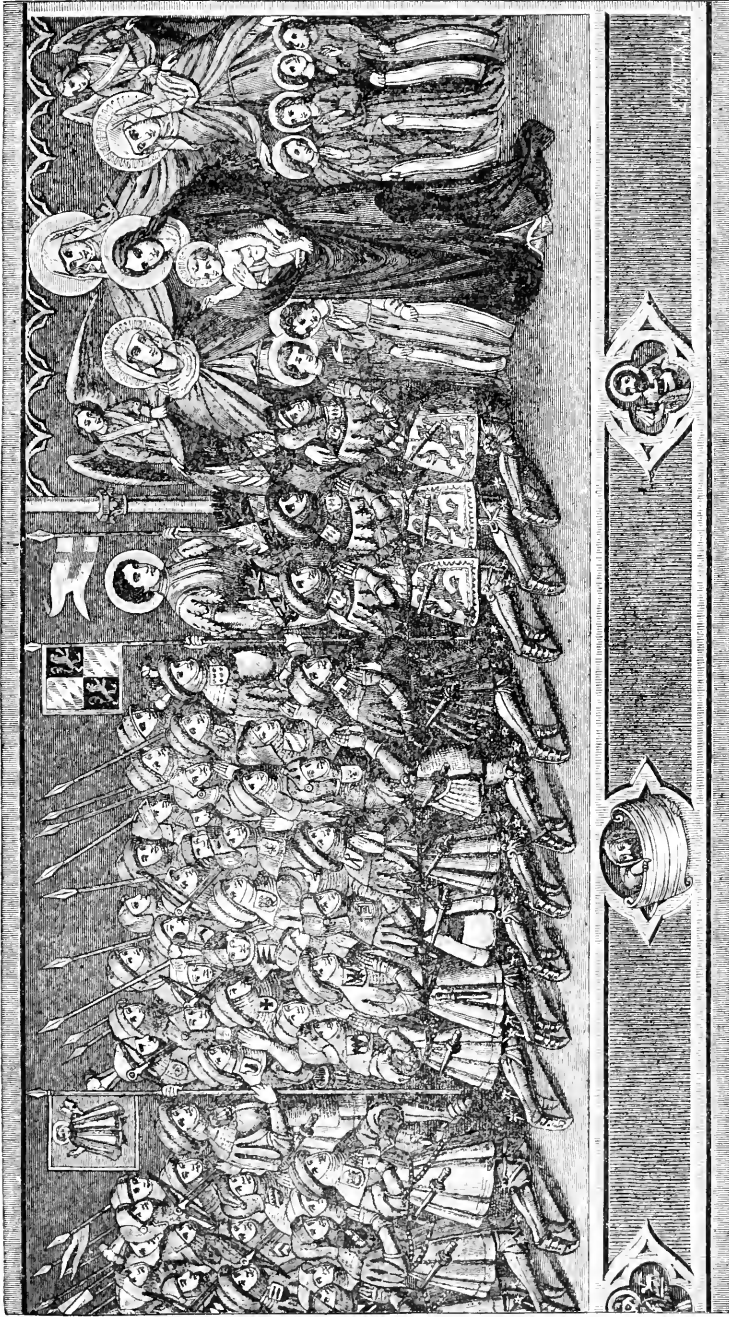


FIG. 63.—(German armor in the first third of the fifteenth century. (From Altertümer und Kunstdenkmale des bayerischen Herrscherhauses.) Detail from the fresco in the Church of Hoflach commemorating the victory of the Dukes Ernest, Albert, and William of Bavaria (Munich branch) over Duke Louis the Bearded of Ingolstadt, at Alling, on September 20, 1422. The whole fresco is 22 ft. long and 8 ft. high, and was painted about 1430. In the centre are Bavarian princes and knights; in the group on the left, below their city flag, citizens of Munich. The coats of arms worn on the halbercons indicate the various families.

Hradsehn, which the royal troops defended bravely, Ziska was surrounded by the crusading army. Its assault on the Hussite camp ended in a crushing defeat. The war immediately extended. Moravia joined the Hussites. There Sigismund himself opposed Ziska in 1421, and forced him to retreat, after taking the strongly-fortified Kuttenberg. But in January of the following year, when his army was scattered over the country, the king suffered a severe defeat at Deutsch Brod at the hands of Ziska. The news of this defeat, together with similar experiences of the past, entirely undermined the respect of the lower classes for the princes and knights, who alone had the privilege of bearing arms. Only unity of action could preserve the latter from the dangers of the Bohemian revolt and the social agitation at home. The force of circumstances finally brought about an understanding between Sigismund and the inimical princes of the empire. Frederick I. of Brandenburg also made peace with the king, and took a prominent part in preparing the country for defence (Fig. 64). The necessity of a thorough reorganization of the kingdom embraced, in view of the Hussite wars, circles which had heretofore been opposed to it. However, the common danger by no means made them willing to make the sacrifices necessary for the needed reform, for Germany was still amazingly poor in public spirit and patriotism.

The diet of Nuremberg, in 1423, for the first time thoroughly discussed the measures necessary for a reform. It had become clear that only a "daily war" against the Hussites could ward off the danger. But money was needed to keep an army together. Consequently



FIG. 64.—Gold florin of Frederick I. of Zollern (Hohenzollern), Burgrave of Nuremberg and Elector of Brandenburg. Original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: † S' IOHANNES BAPTISTA. Reverse: † FRIDERIC MARGRAFEN GN' (Margrafius Brandenburgensis), and the eagle. St. John the Baptist and the fleur-de-lys are Florentine types; hence the name florin.

the scheme of a general tax was broached. Every one was to give one per cent. of his capital. But the cities, which would have been burdened most, would naturally not listen to the scheme. The diet then had recourse to the plan of a new military levy. It fixed, according to the ability of the various estates, the contingent that every one was to furnish in troops (from three to five men). But even this plan met with no success. Now the electors took the matter in hand. In the

beginning of 1424 they formed a league against the Bohemian heresy. The king was only to be its protector, while the management of the

league fell to a superior who was elected annually. Accordingly a college of princes stepped into the king's position in the realm. It was soon found thoroughly incapable. The Hussites won one victory after another. In 1425 they spread plunder and rapine all over Austria and Moravia. Dissensions had already broken them up into new parties. A horrible civil war broke out, during which the Taborites sought to force the Utraquistic barons and citizens of Prague to accept their radical programme. But this only drove them into Sigismund's arms. When Ziska died of the plague in 1422, his bereaved adherents formed a separate party under the name of Orphans. These combated the Taborites so successfully that they finally gave up their original enmity, and compromised with the Calixtines. The old military unity of the Hussites revived as soon as they had to beat off another German crusading army. In the summer of 1424 the Hussite army marched down the Elbe to invade Saxony, but was held back by the brave defence of the fortress of Aussig. A German army, hurriedly gathered, attacked the wagon-fort of the Bohemians to relieve Aussig, but was terribly defeated on June 16. Leaving rich booty behind, the remainder of the army hurried in headlong flight to Saxony. Only the disunion of the Hussites warded off the impending danger from the German kingdom. The Taborites, now led by a triumvirate headed by Procopius the Great, would not listen to an invasion of Germany. Very soon they had to intercept an invasion from the Austrian side.

While the Germans were devoting serious thought to recuperating their military forces, but as usual stopped at projects, the Hussites, on the other hand, took the offensive. First they wasted Austria. Then, after a victory at Zittau, they prepared the same fate for Silesia and Lusatia. Meanwhile the pope had started another crusading army under Bishop Henry of Winchester, whom Martin V. had appointed cardinal legate. But as soon as the army heard that the Hussites were approaching to relieve Mies, it scattered horrified and fled from Bohemia. As the religious crusade had proved ineffective, the German state once more took the reform of the military organization in hand. Nevertheless, not until November, 1427, did the diet of Frankfort adopt resolutions, the execution of which might have done much good. To supply means for the war, all ecclesiastical incomes were to furnish a twentieth, all temporal ones of over 1000 florins, one florin, and all others down to 100 florins, one-half florin. Besides, a graduated poll-tax was levied. The diet resolved that the disposal of the receipts be left to a committee composed of delegates of the electors and representatives from the imperial cities. But this scheme, also, came to nothing. Many nobles and



FIG. 65.—Armor of a Bohemian warrior of the fifteenth century with the great pavise (shield). Museum of Tsarskoi Selo. (From Gillé.)

clerics refused payment, and many of the princes refused to deliver to the committee the money which had come to their hands. Consequently the Hussites found no trouble in ravaging Hungary, Silesia, and even Bavaria and Austria in 1428. Frederick I. of Brandenburg proposed negotiations with the moderate Hussite parties and the granting of their demands. But the zealots nipped such negotiations in the bud. Consequently the marauding invasions of the Bohemians continued (Fig. 16). After plundering Silesia and Lusatia again, they entered Saxony. A German army did not dare to give battle at Grimma, and retreated to Leipsic. Consequently the robbing hordes marched by Altenburg and through Franconia to Bamberg. The Elector of Brandenburg stopped their career by paying them to retreat to Bohemia.

The German kingdom was on the way of becoming tributary to the Hussites. Religious concessions alone could save it. When Frederick of Brandenburg had proposed them, a decided step toward an understanding had been taken. The diet of Frankfort, in 1427, had agreed upon holding a diet at Nuremberg, where an attempt should be made to learn the spiritual basis of the Hussite doctrines from the lips of its followers; the papacy, of course, opposed this, because it still considered the Bohemians heretics. However, events had latterly changed the opinion of the Germans about the Roman Church; the conviction spread that the state of affairs had become so desperate only because the Council of Constance had failed to carry out its promised reform. For even if Martin V. had complied with the letter of his obligations by opening a council at Pavia, in 1423, it had accomplished nothing. When it had tried to adopt serious measures, the pope had transferred it to Siena and then dissolved it. To be sure, he had simultaneously summoned a new one to Basel, for 1431. Here was a chance to put an end to the dilatory policy of the papal court; for with the aid of the council the king might perhaps make a peace with the Calixtines in spite of the pope; such a peace had become a question of life and death with the kingdom.

Martin V. thought it best to give way to the general pressure; to avoid worse consequences, he took the matter more seriously, if for no other reason than to deprive the agitation of its most effective weapon. He appointed Julius Cesarini president of the council. This cardinal had been entrusted with the ecclesiastical management of the Hussite affair; the pope ordered him to take the necessary steps toward opening the council; but before it had fairly started Martin V. died, in February, 1431. His successor, of Venetian origin, named Pope Eugenius IV. (1431-1447), harbored but one thought from the beginning of his pontificate,—to free himself as soon as possible from the troublesome

heritage of the council which his predecessor had left him. The smallness of its first meeting, in July, 1431, made Eugenius's prospects look very fair.

But just at that time the Hussite war broke out again with such violence that the adoption of some measure was absolutely imperative to save church and state. The attempt of the Elector of Brandenburg at reconciliation had failed meanwhile. At the expiration of the truce he invaded Bohemia with 120,000 men, an army of unheard of size. Lack of supplies at first forced the Bohemians to so split up their forces that they made no serious resistance. The invaders burned and wasted the district around Eger with impunity. Marching southward the German army encamped at Tauss, near Pilsen, when the Hussites advanced to the attack on August 14, 1431. Immediately every one gave up the thought of fighting; the whole crusading army ran off panic-stricken, while the Bohemians massacred the crowded fugitives. This unexampled demoralization made all the lower orders in Germany, which was now open to the Hussites, turn with aversion from the knights and soldiers who had covered themselves with such disgrace. At that moment the Bohemian fanatics would have been received with open arms in Germany, which would have succumbed to a fierce social and political revolution. The Council of Basel appeared in the light of a court of first instance, the intervention of which might save all. The counsellors at Basel, accordingly, hastened to utilize the favorable opportunity.

That gave the Council of Basel an authority which had not belonged to it at first. But immediately Eugenius IV. began his opposition. A conflict was soon under way which the diplomatic mediator and moderate reformer, Cesarini, could not reconcile. A young German scholar, Nicholas of Cues, near Treves, soon won considerable influence among the cardinal legates. In his work on the unity of the Catholic Church (*De Unitate Catholica*), he presented a scheme for a Church reform; it aimed at abrogating the worst abuses of the Church, without effecting a noticeable change in its spirit and constitution. For this very reason it did not satisfy the radicals, who got the upper hand in the council. For, whereas, at the former councils, the great prelates, especially bishops and professors, had been the chief representatives, now the lower orders of the clergy had the greatest influence. They soon urged a democratic reorganization of the Church. The opposition of the papal court became more bitter. In December, 1431, Eugenius transferred the council to Bologna on idle pretexts. But only a small part of the council obeyed the pope's order for removal. What had prompted the pope's action was a resolution of the council to give the Hussites a hearing, and to negotiate with



FIG. 66.—Husite Disputation at the Court of the King of Poland. Painting of the fifteenth century in the Chapel of the Jagellons in the Cathedral of Cracow. The scene is an adaptation of "Christ in the Temple." (After Przedziecki and Rastowiecki: *Monuments*.)

them on the basis of the exposition of their doctrine. In other words, the papal court cast aside the very measure which might rescue the German kingdom from destruction. In its first meeting, December 14, 1431, the council, therefore, renewed the declaration of Constance, that general councils were above the pope (see p. 40). In its second sitting it adopted again the remaining reform-decrees of the previous council, and declared itself indissoluble without its own consent. This was a revolutionary act, which, however, necessity justified and Cesarini indorsed; besides, it was approved everywhere, and gave rise to hopes of the ultimate success of the reform. A formal summons to the council was issued to the Hussites (Fig. 68). Deputies from the council made a treaty with the Taborites at Eger, in May, 1432; it secured their participation in the council, and regulated details. The passionate opposition of Eugenius IV. had no success. The council summoned him and seventeen cardinals to appear before its bar; on his refusal to appear the council brought suit against him for default. The enmity of pope and council threatened a novel form of disruption.

If the papal absolutistic system had been unbearable, the episcopal system of church government created at Constance had likewise proved an obstacle to church reform. Therefore, measures were now taken to rule the church on democratic principles. According to these, the various ecclesiastical orders should participate equally in the management of the universal church. The aim of the new principles was to make the lower clergy as such the decisive factor in church government. Accordingly, four deputations were formed, one for matters of faith, one for the Hussite affair, another for the reform proper, and the last for general affairs. Each of the four nations had an equal number of representatives in these committees. They were drafted in such a manner that each clerical order down to the very lowest had the same number in each deputation. Thus, the lower radical element attained an influence in the council, which at first bore the high dignitaries along with them and promised great prospects of reform. That excluded every chance of reconciliation between Eugenius IV. and the council. His penal mandates did not make the least impression on the council, which, in fact, reiterated the doctrine that general councils should meet regularly, even without papal summons.

Meanwhile, Eugenius sought to improve his position by coming to terms with the council. Sigismund appeared in Italy at the close of 1431 (Fig. 67). He wished the imperial coronation to counterbalance, in a measure, what the victories of the Bohemians and the opposition of the German princes had cost him. Besides, he hoped to strengthen the

power of Hungary at the expense of Venice. Filippo Maria Visconti gave him a good reception in Milan, and allowed him to be crowned king of Lombardy. While the former attacked Venice with the king's other allies, Sigismund himself communicated with the pope from Piacenza.

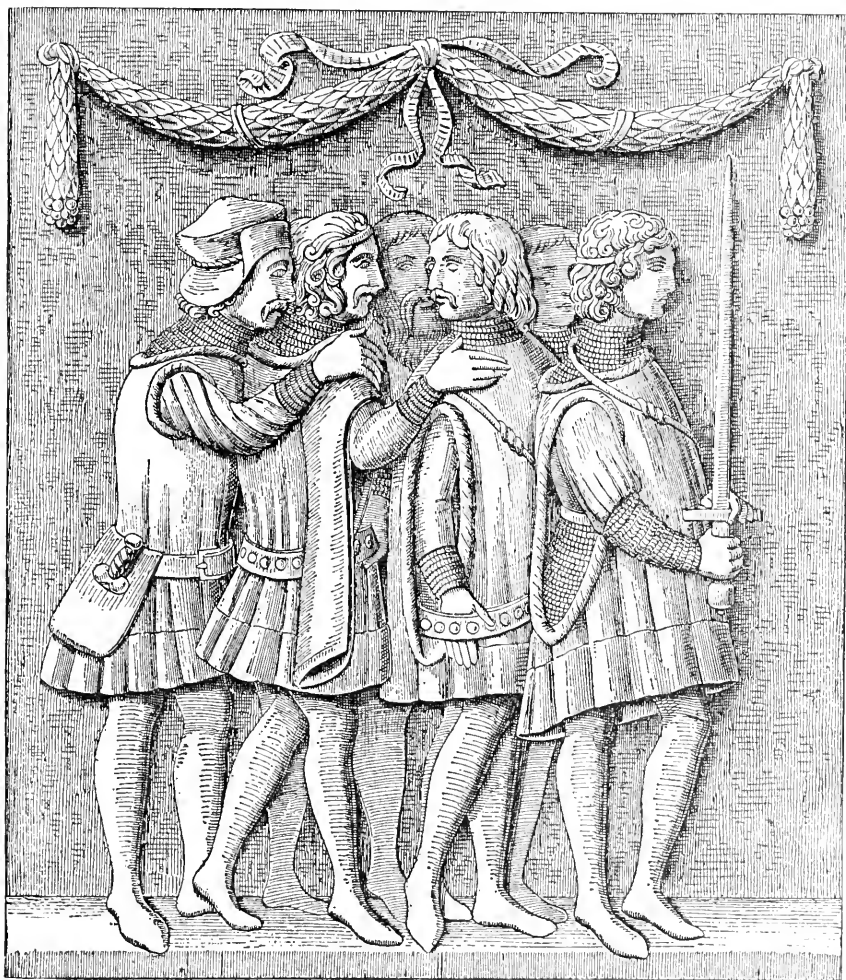


FIG. 67.—Italian knights: first half of the fifteenth century. Group from an imperial coronation; relief in bronze on a portal of St. Peter's, Rome. Simone di Bardi executed the relief between 1439 and 1447. (From v. Hefner-Alteneck.)

Eugenius IV. finally gave way, when Sigismund threatened the papal states, and recognized the Council of Basel as legitimate, but only with all sorts of reservations. But Sigismund's next step created new difficulties for the council; for he acknowledged Eugenius IV. as the rightful

head of the church, and promised to protect him as such. Therefore, the pope crowned him emperor in Rome on May 31, 1433. The peace within the church was of short duration, although Eugenius now recalled the dissolution of the council and entrusted its proceedings to his legates.

Meanwhile, the council had reached a certain understanding with the Hussites. Thereupon, Sigismund's ambassador to the council had gone to Bohemia with the Hussite representatives to induce the Bohemians to adopt a form of the Calixtine doctrine acceptable to the church. They agreed upon four articles, which were: preaching in the vernacular, communion in both kinds, and the responsibility of erring priests to the temporal courts. The moderate party sacrificed its original demand of the apostolic poverty of the clergy and church. The confirmation of these articles by the compacts of Prague on November 30, 1433, realized the Hussite ideal of a national Czech Church. The council did not think it had paid too dearly for the fortunate turn of affairs which followed; for now the Calixtines turned on the Taborites, whom they defeated at Böhmisches Brod on May 30, 1434. Henceforth, the Taborites ceased to be a danger to the neighboring countries. The peace of Iglau (1436) ended the Bohemian war, which had lasted fifteen years. In this treaty, Sigismund confirmed the compacts of Prague by granting an amnesty to the Bohemians. They recognized him as king of Bohemia in return for his promise to observe the rights and privileges of the estates. As a matter of fact, the Bohemians soon had cause for complaint, because the king shirked his obligations.

At any rate, the horrors of the Hussite war had essentially furthered the cause of reform. Besides, the unparalleled political and military

ruin of the German state gave greater influence to the adherents of a new order in Germany. However, the attendant social revolution met with the usual opposition from the ruling classes. At a diet in Basel in November, 1433, a reformation was discussed under sixteen heads. These concerned the establishment of the public peace on the basis of a division of the kingdom into circles. Furthermore, the articles under discussion



FIG. 68.—Silver groat (groschen) of King Sigismund; original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: † SIGISMUNDVS · ROMANORV · REX. Reverse: BNDICTQ' VENIT IN NOIE'DNI (Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini). MONETA TREMONIENSIS (Dortmund).

related to the improvement of the police, the regulation of the corrupt coinage (Fig. 68), and laws about usury and other abuses. The discus-

sion was to be continued at a diet in Ratisbon, in 1434; but naturally the matter had to be dropped on account of the old opposition. Yet there was a lively public demand for reform, as appears from a contemporary pamphlet. It is supposed to be the work of the son of a merchant of Ulm, Frederick Reiser. He had travelled much, and was well versed in the questions of the day. While his "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund" expresses his deviating dogmatic standpoint very circumspectly, it emphasizes the necessity of political and social reform the more decidedly on the basis of the articles of Basel and Ratisbon.

There seemed greater hope of realizing such schemes because the church reform just then proceeded with unexpected alacrity on account of the growing energy of the Council of Basel. Its reconciliation with Eugenius IV. had soon given way to a more violent conflict. The anti-papal tendency carried along such men as Cesarini and Nicholas of Cues more and more. To strengthen the new clerical organization, the council, in 1434, deprived the pope of the right of appointing the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, and gave again to the ecclesiastical corporations the free election of their superiors. It was a change which struck at the root of papal absolutism. Therefore Eugenius IV. combated it with all his might. Just then an uprising of the Colonnas made him flee from Rome to Florence and yield still more to the council. He had now to accept the resolutions which he had previously rejected, and even to confirm the compacts granted the Calixtines. Encouraged by such successes, the council took energetic steps against other abuses. In 1435, it issued severe censures against the clerics who had concubines, and forbade the abuse of the interdict. By making appeals to Rome more difficult, the council tried to put a stop to the delay frequent in ecclesiastical cases. The pope had to submit even to this diminution of his authority. But the zealots did not stop there. At the instigation of the reform party, the council passed, on June 9, 1435, a resolution which, if literally carried out, could only have led to the abrogation of the papacy; for it forbade the future buying of annats, pall-money,¹ and similar dues, and threatened the disobedient with the charge of simony. Such a measure would have destroyed the whole papal financial system. The mouth-pieces of the reform-party did not conceal the fact that it aimed at the destruction of the papacy. The Archbishop of Tours casually remarked that the papal chair ought to be plucked so clean that it would be a matter of indifference who held it in future. That, however, contained an unconscious

¹ The pall (pallium) was a vestment bestowed only on archbishops, in this period, and carried certain rights with it. Only the pope could confer it.



FIG. 69.—Departure of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini for the Council of Basel. Detail from the frescoes of Bernardino Betti Biagi Pinturicchio (about 1454-1513) in the Library of the Cathedral of Siena. Painted between 1503 and 1507.

condemnation of the resolution of the council, which doubtless far over-shot the mark, and led to a crisis which was fatal to the council and the whole movement for reform.

Immediately all the legates except Cesarini protested against the decree. Notwithstanding, the hard-pressed pope was ready to negotiate on its basis. But even many members of the reform party scorned such a proceeding. Nicholas of Cues decidedly opposed the resolution about the annats. He now made common cause with the so-called Legates' Party, which gathered together to defend the threatened papacy. The conflict raged the more fiercely as the French radicals seemed inclined to carry out the programme of the Bishop of Tours. Louis Pallemant, Archbishop of Arles, was also very ardent. Among the Italian opposition a young Siennese clerk was pre-eminent. This was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Fig. 69), who had been educated in the school of Italian humanism. He was wonderfully versatile and polished, but had no strong moral principles, and was filled with restless ambition.

The conflict between Eugenius IV. and the reform-party was inevitable. The ultimate cause of its outbreak was the attempt at union with the Greek Church, in view of the growing danger from the Turks. At first the pope had conducted the negotiations with ambassadors sent from Constantinople. To rob him of his moral support even in this matter, the council aimed at getting the negotiations exclusively into its own hands. In consequence, disgraceful scenes occurred in the council which made all the real friends of reform tremble and lowered the council in the estimation of the world. This greatly facilitated the pope's overthrow of the council, and in turn caused many of its undecided members to leave the opposition and ensure their future by desertion to the papal court. The breach went so far that the pope could transfer the council to Ferrara in September, 1437. Thence the pro-papal council removed to Florence, while that at Basel still maintained that it was the only lawful representative of the church. Undisturbed by the papal excommunication it continued its proceedings in the spirit of radical reform. It brought suit against Eugenius IV., and deposed him in July, 1439, as a simonist heretic and peace-breaker. But this passionate sentence of deposition could lay no claim to acceptance. Most of the higher clergy had already gone to Ferrara or Florence; only Pallemant still remained in Basel. Radical as it was, the Council of Basel did not believe that of itself it could stand for a lawful representation of the church. It required a co-operating pope. So it chose, in 1439, Duke Amadeus of Savoy, who had abdicated and become a hermit on Lake Geneva. He was a diplomatic and moderate man, but neither his past

nor his talents made him equal to the task imposed upon him. Consequently he met with but little recognition as Felix V. Two councils and two popes now wrestled with each other and threatened a schism. This danger made the moderate reform-party give up their demands temporarily. They did not scruple to side with the undoubted lawful pope, Eugenius IV., whom the emperor himself had recognized as such. Thus the Council of Basel continuously lost its authority, inasmuch as the public robbed it of its only stay by not acknowledging its decrees.

The decision between the two popes and their colleges of cardinals depended entirely on the position which the individual states would take toward them. From the beginning, that of France was the clearest and most decided. In consequence of the appearance of the Maid of Orleans, that country had just gone through a national revival, as a result of which the clergy as well as the other estates stood by the kingdom. In 1438 a national French council at Bourges agreed with Charles VII. upon the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, which aimed at excluding foreign and disloyal clerics from the French church. It marked the first step in the national independent church. France also found in its newly-strengthened monarchy an effective organ in espousing its interest, while the lack of such a central power made Germany suffer severely again in consequence of the ecclesiastical schism.

The death of Sigismund in December, 1437, increased the general confusion in Germany. When he had demanded the succession of his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, to the throne of Bohemia, the dissatisfied Bohemians again rose in revolt. Sigismund had been forced to leave Prague. In Znaim he seems to have got proof of the secret communications between his queen, Barbara, and the insurgents. She desired to raise the Polish king instead of the Hapsburg to the throne of Bohemia. Therefore, Sigismund had her placed in safe-keeping. Before the matter could be settled he died, on December 7, 1437, mourned by no one. For he had only debased the royal and imperial power which the nation had hoped to see leading church and state to reform. Sigismund (Figs. 70 and 71) had only reduced the national power to a useful appanage of the Luxemburg sovereignty. If the nation now chose a successor who was not bound to Eugene IV. and was independent of ecclesiastical complications, a change for the better might still ensue. Thus Sigismund's death opened up new prospects, and enabled the kingdom to take a neutral position similar to the one just inaugurated by the French Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.

The decision depended on the choice which the electors would make. It created a good impression when they bound themselves to a pro-

gramme of reform by agreeing upon a number of points which the new king should be obliged to remedy. On the advice of Gregory of Heimburg, the counsellor of the Elector of Saxony, he was to be bound to preserve strict neutrality toward the schism between the councils and popes. This energetic proceeding of the electors did not fail of its impression both in Basel and Rome. From the first the attention of the electors was fixed on Albert of Austria. The Hungarians had accepted him as



FIG. 70.—Seal of Emperor Sigismund. Obverse: legend, SIGISMUNDVS X DEI X GRACIA X ROMANORVM X IMPERATOR X SEMPER X AVGVSTVS X AC X HVNGARIE X BOHEMIE X DALMACIE (in the inner circle), CROACIE X RAME X SERVIE X GALICIE X Lodomerie X COMARIE X BYLGARIEQ X REX X EX X LVCEMBVRGENSIS X HERES. (Berlin.)

the successor of his father-in-law, Sigismund, and he was bent on establishing his royal rights in Bohemia. Thus he possessed the requisite family power to enable him to assume the kingly rôle, while his indifference to the ecclesiastical conflict guaranteed his independence of all

parties. Besides, he had an imposing personality. Furthermore, his not soliciting the German crown and his calm policy of awaiting developments, made him entirely acceptable in the eyes of many. On the other hand, it seemed doubtful whether he would accept an election, because the Hungarians were unwilling to give their consent. Nevertheless, the electors did not think seriously of any other candidate, as even Frederick



FIG. 71.—Reverse of above (Fig. 21). (Berlin, Royal Privy Archives.) Legend: AQVILA X EZECHIELIS X SPONSE X MISSA X EST X DE X CELIS X VOLAT X IPSA X SINE X META X QVO X NEC X VATES X NEC X PROPHETA X EVOLABIT X ALCIVS.†

I. of Brandenburg, the head of the imperial party, raised no claims. Consequently, in March, 1438, Albert V., Duke of Austria, was unanimously chosen sovereign, as Albert II. The spirit of unanimity, which had long been dead, was of itself a favorable omen for the new government.

In fact, its beginnings did promise much. At the order of Albert, who was detained in Hungary, his chancellor, Caspar Schlick, negotiated

with the estates at Nuremberg. He had such success that the diet of Mayence in the spring of 1439 adopted resolutions which marked a decided improvement in German politics. The estates declared their neutrality in the church conflict, and followed the example of France by adopting the reform decrees of the Council of Basel. The resolutions of Mayence have consequently been erroneously called the "Pragmatic Sanction of the Germans." However that may be, the diet took a great step in advance which might have led to a national organization of the German Church. As a result the courage of the Council of Basel rose, and this body quickly disposed of the suit against Eugene IV. and proceeded to the election of Felix V. But just then an unexpected event occurred. In October, 1439, Albert fell in a campaign against the Turks before he had even entered the German kingdom.

His death left Frederick, Duke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, head of the house of Hapsburg (Fig. 72). He had grown up as the ward



FIG. 72.—Seal of Frederick III. as Duke of Austria, $\frac{5}{8}$ original size. (Berlin.)

of his uncle, Frederick IV. Lackeoin (*mit der leeren Tasche*), and had not as yet shown qualities to recommend him as a candidate for the head of the empire in its present straits. Not his person, but his power, tipped the scales of the balance in his favor. As guardian of Ladislaus Posthumus, the son of Albert II., Frederick had the disposal of his Austro-Luxemburg inheritance. Thus he possessed sufficient means to continue the policy of neutrality which his predecessor had adopted. In

consequence, his brother-in-law of Saxony found it easy to unite the votes of the electors on the young Hapsburger, while the Elector of Brandenburg, and Henry of Moravia, who usurped the Bohemian vote, worked for the election of the Landgrave of Hesse. On February 2, 1440, Frederick of Hapsburg was elected German king (Frederick III., 1440-1493). But it soon appeared that his election was of little service to state and church, because he placed the interests of his house above everything.

Thus the king did not utilize his advantageous position to strengthen the German church. Both parties sued him, and his very indecision heightened his authority; accordingly, the neutral policy, inaugurated by the electors, gained ground, and they renewed their "Union for Protestation and Appellation." Not until 1442 did Frederick III. enter the kingdom to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. A diet at Frankfort definitely gave up the idea of holding a third council, but devoted itself the more thoroughly to the reformation of the state. The programme it adopted deserves the greatest praise. But the question as to its execution led to the discouraging conviction that there was really no one in the state who had authority enough. Once more the matter stopped here. On the other hand, Frederick III. at first took a lively interest in church affairs. He went to Basel to treat personally with Felix V. But the latter's prospects grew worse and worse, and his adherents continued to fall off. Aeneas Silvius also changed sides about this time. He took service with the king, and soon gained such influence, through his skill and his thorough knowledge of the weaknesses of the Council of Basel, that he could count on overthrowing it in a short time.

The princes were still willing to continue their neutrality consistently; but the passive resistance of Frederick III. frustrated every step toward it, for he hindered the adoption of resolutions to that effect by his absence from the diets after 1444. The conflict which had broken out at the diet of Nuremberg in that year had presented so many difficulties that the king would have nothing to do with such meetings for some time. The committee on church affairs proposed that the kingdom preserve its neutrality for another year. If the schism were not removed by that time, a new council should assemble at Constance, Augsburg, or any other convenient city, in the presence of the king, and pass judgment on the matter itself. On the other hand, the archbishops of Cologne and Treves and the Elector of Saxony spoke of open adherence to Felix V. But the king already appeared to many unfit for the part he was to play, and this did not increase his desire to devote himself more actively to the welfare of the state. In growing isolation and with

inconsiderate selfishness Frederick III. opposed his family interests to those of the kingdom. He sought to thwart the opposition, which his unworthy rule called forth, by a league with the church and Eugenius IV.

Consequently a decisive turn in the development of the church question took place. The leader in these intrigues was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. He went to Rome as the king's ambassador with the resolutions of the diet of Nuremberg. Naturally the papal court rejected the proposal of summoning a new council. Piccolomini, however, used the favorable opportunity to make his peace with the court, and, quite unobtrusively, began to mediate between Eugenius IV. and Frederick III. His mediation sealed the fate of the Council of Basel and that of church reform. The king proved himself the apt pupil of his Italian master. He developed a perfect mastery in the art of dissimulation during his disgraceful under-handed game with the kingdom and princes. He unconditionally consented to the renewal of the "Union for Appellation" at the diet of Frankfort in November, 1445, although he had already made a secret treaty with Eugenius IV. In return for acknowledging him as pope, Frederick was to have the patronage of one hundred church benefices in his family lands, the appointment of six bishops and the right of church visitation. Besides, the pope made over to him the tithes of all the livings in the kingdom, and promised him more than 200,000 ducats. Lastly the pope gave the king security for his imperial election, and a sum to defray the expenses of his journey to Rome for the crown. The confirmation of this shameful compact in January, 1446, sealed the treachery of the king and gave the papal court the means to break up the Council of Basel.

Eugenius soon began to punish the adherents of this council with the utmost severity. In February, 1446, he excommunicated the archbishops of Treves and Mayence. Everybody was indignant at this piece of violence. While the pope and Frederick III. had won their game, an unexpected crisis came upon them. By the utmost exertion the apparently dying reform-movement was revived once more. Again the electors took matters in hand. In March, 1446, they formed a new Electoral League at Frankfort. They mutually guaranteed their dignity and rule, and decided on conditions which Eugenius IV. was to fulfil before they would recognize him as the lawful pope. Should he not confirm the decrees of Constance and Basel, and refuse to summon a new council, the electors would go over to the Council of Basel in a body, if necessary, without the king. Frederick gave an evasive answer to their demands. At the same time he secretly advised Eugenius IV. to accede. But the latter remained true to his old policy of delay. On the other

hand, the action of the council was open and honest. They acceded to all the demands of the electors, promptly and unconditionally. But at the last moment Eugenius IV. found means to attract the head of the opposition, Dietrich I. of Mayence, and to detach him from the Electoral League.

A diet to be held at Frankfort in September, 1446, was to decide for or against the Council of Basel. The embassy to Rome had returned with the refusal of Eugenius IV. to accept the conditions which the electors had made at the diet of Nuremberg in 1444. The action of the diet could not have been doubted if the desertion of the Elector of Mayence had not overturned all calculations that very moment. The ensuing confusion again offered the sly Aeneas Silvius an opportunity to exercise his arts. He paved the way to a compromise, the articles of which he formulated himself. As the proceedings went on he turned these articles more and more in favor of the papal court; for whatever the compromise conceded in one article was made null and void by the



FIG. 73.—Bulla issued during the Council of Basel (1431-1444). Original size. (Berlin.)

reservations and clauses of the next. Thus Eugenius agreed to call a council in a German city, but made its meeting dependent on the consent of all other rulers and nations. Now, the slightest objection from any quarter could make its assembling impossible. Eugenius's acknowledgment of the doctrine that general councils were superior to the pope was so vague, especially in regard to the Council of Basel (Fig. 73), that it could be easily interpreted in a manner favorable to the papal court. The acceptance of the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of the Germans promised little more. It amounted only to an amnesty for those concerned in it, while the pope even took back some of the concessions he had previously made to Germany. The greatest benefit would accrue to the papal court from a conciliatory measure. Consequently, it promised, to all, who would accept Eugenius IV., the continued possession of their

offices and dignities, and to the archbishops of Mayence and Treves full restitution. With exception of the latter, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Elector of Saxony, all hastened to make their peace with the pope. He, however, and his shrewd mediator, Aeneas Silvius, later found means to curtail their original promises in many a point and to reduce their obligations to a shadow. The papacy regained one lost position after another. Nevertheless, Eugenius IV. confirmed the stipulated provisional concordat in February, 1447. He did this only with reservations, which would allow his successor to make it still less effective. At all events, the Council of Basel was now disarmed. Most of the princes hastened to make an end of the troublesome dispute by subscribing to the concordat. Eugenius, however, was on his death-bed.

Now everything went as the conservatives desired. A diet of princes at Aschaffenburg in July recognized Nicholas V. (1447-1455) as the successor of Eugenius. On the ground of negotiations there carried on, the Vienna concordat received its final shape on February 17, 1448. Thus modified, it completely annulled the concessions previously wrung from the papal court. Without the slightest prospect of success the Council of Basel, after having removed to Lausanne, continued its resistance. But it collapsed more and more as Nicholas V. was wise enough to offer the councillors a safe retreat. This he did by granting a general amnesty, especially to certain Savoyard bishops who clung to Felix V. to the last. They were to suffer no diminution of dignity or property. Felix himself finally made his peace on similar terms. He abdicated, but remained cardinal and papal vicar. Finally, the clergy who remained at Lausanne also elected Nicholas V. as pope. He was a dignified, cultured and moral man, whose personality was well fitted to bring about a lasting reconciliation between the parties.

On April 25, 1448, the formal dissolution of the Council of Basel, which had sat for nearly eighteen years, took place. But the memory of the great danger, in which it had placed the papacy, always remained fresh in the mind of the Holy See, which did not feel fully secure until it had stamped out the doctrine of the superiority of general councils and branded a renewal of conciliar reform with heresy. It is significant that this hierarchical reaction was reserved for a man who had begun his career as a champion of reform, and then gone over more and more to the papal camp. Thus he could overthrow the council by his intrigues and subject the German church to the power of the unreformed church of Rome. Rising step by step, this man, who was none other than Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, became Archbishop of Siena, then cardinal, and finally Pope Pius II. (1458-1464) (Fig. 74). It was



FIG. 74.—Enthronement of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini as Pope. Fresco, by Pinturicchio, in the Library of the Cathedral of Siena. (See illustration, p. 190).



FIG. 75.—Betrothal of Emperor Frederick III. and Eleonora of Portugal. Fresco, by Pinturicchio, in the Library of the Cathedral of Siena.

he who definitely put an end to the reform of the church, by declaring the doctrine of the superiority of general councils heretical.

That also decided the fate of the political reform. It would certainly have been possible to emancipate the state in Germany from the church, as it had been done in England and France. But the initiative of the king was lacking as well as the goodwill of the princes and the means of securing the co-operation of the nation. Frederick III. (PLATE VIII.) was intent only on increasing the power of his house, which he did at the cost of the kingdom. In the northwest the lands of the Teutonic Order fell to the Poles. In the west the Burgundian dynasty rose to threatening power. The elevation of the Sforzas in the place of the Visconti put an end even to the theoretical sovereignty of the German kingdom over the duchy of Milan. Also Bohemia and Hungary rose to be independent national states. In Franconia and on the Upper and Lower Rhine private wars were the order of the day. Under such circumstances Frederick III. could not protect even his hereditary lands from external foes. During the conflicts over the inheritance of Ladislaus Posthumus, the son of King Albert II., the Bohemians invaded Silesia, and the Hungarians forced Frederick III. to flee from his capital, Vienna, which they occupied for some time. Meanwhile, the approach of the Turks became ever more threatening. All this troubled Frederick III. very little. In 1451 he went to Italy, where he was content to be crowned emperor in March, 1452. At the same time he celebrated his marriage with Eleonora of Portugal (Fig. 75). It was the last time that a German king was crowned emperor in Rome.



Seal of Emperor Frederick II

Obverse: SIGILLUM · MAJESTAT · FRIDERICI · DEI · GRA · ROMANORU · IMPERATORIS ·
 SEMPER · AUGUSTI · DUCIS · AUSTRIE · STIRIE · — · KARINTHIE ET · CARNIOLE · ·
 COMITIS · AC · TIROLIS · ETC · ·

Above the upper left-hand shield: A E I O V (Austriæ Est Imperare Orbi Universo).

At the base of the throne: QUI NATUS EST IN DIE S. MATHEI SUB · AN · DNI · MCCCCXV.

Between the emperor's feet on the impression of his seal ring: A E I O U, etc.



Mint. Actual size. (Berlin.)

Reverse: * A E I O U * AQUILA † EZECHIELIS † SPONSE MISSA † EST † DE † CELLIS † UOLAT † IPSA † SINE † META † QUO † NEC † VATES † NEC † PROPHETA † EUOLAUT † ALCIUS.

In the centre, the imperial double-eagle; around the margin the coats-of-arms of various districts Windisch-mark, Alsace, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

RENEWAL AND ISSUE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

(A. D. 1380-1453.)

DURING the period of the Great Councils the West of Europe was the scene of a terrible national war between England and France. It broke down the barriers of feudalism, and paved the way for a reorganization on a new political and social basis. The leading influence, which France and England, in contradistinction to Germany, exercised on European politics at the end of the Middle Ages, was prepared and founded during the Hundred Years' War.

In England, the usurper, Henry IV. of Lancaster, was threatened from all sides. While the Welsh and Scotch became bolder, and France aimed at completing the conquest of the mainland, which Charles V. had furthered, King Henry was threatened at home by repeated insurrections; consequently, he sought the support of the nation by a strict parliamentary government. Furthermore, contrary to the English traditional policy, he made considerable concessions to the clergy, and sacrificed the Lollards to their orthodox zeal. On the other hand, he often erred through his insulting violence, which arose from his suspicious nature and his anxiety for his crown. He estranged Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, by a petty quarrel about some Scotch prisoners taken after the great victory at Homildon Hill, in 1402. Hotspur, as the people called Percy, put himself at the head of numerous dissatisfied barons and allied himself with his former foe, the Welsh prince, Owen Glendower. In case of victory, the conspirators planned to restore Richard II., whom they, like many others, still thought alive. Should they not find him imprisoned in some castle, they wished to crown Edward Mortimer, the Earl of March. Through the female line, he was a great grandson of Lionel Clarence, the second son of Edward III., and at the time was still a captive in Scotland. But Hotspur's rebellion was crushed at the battle of Shrewsbury, in July, 1403. Percy fell, and his followers met dire retribution; but this only incited the opposition to the utmost. A general rising in the North was imminent; but on account of the insurgents' lack of unity, the non-appearance of French help, and the capture of King James of Scotland, Henry IV. won an



FIG. 76.—Henry IV. and his Queen, Joan of Navarre, from their tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. (After Stothard.)

easy victory in 1408 and 1409. Nevertheless, his enemies did not abandon their plans, and the Lancastrian rule was far from established when the king died, in March, 1413 (Fig. 76).

Many had expected great evils from the succession; for the Prince of Wales, now Henry V. (1413-1422), had given rise to the greatest prejudices on account of his wild youth. But his excesses now appeared the natural vent of youthful animal spirits, which had not found fitting occupation at the hands of his suspicious father. From the moment his father's death called him to so influential and responsible a post, the defamed prince was another man. The companions of his youthful follies, who expected honors and offices, were grievously disappointed; Henry V. devoted himself seriously to state affairs, with the aid of his father's counsellors. Above all, he sought to root out the memory of the unlawful origin of rule of his house, to conciliate his enemies, and win all parties for the public service. He restored their estates and honors to the Earl of March and to the son of Henry Percy. He had a monument erected to Richard II. at Westminster, such as was fitting for a lawful English king. Such measures hushed the opposition, and all England hailed its young ruler with joy. Following in his father's footsteps, Henry V. was careful to preserve a good understanding with parliament. To maintain the Lancastrian power the young king had to resort to a measure which cast a shadow over the bright picture of his reign. This was the continuation and aggravation of the persecution of the Lollards, to which most of them now fell a prey. At their head stood Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), who had formerly been intimate with the king; he was condemned as a heretic, whereupon he gathered the Lollards around himself; he wished only to avert further violence, not to take revolutionary steps; but his adherents were soon considered rebels. Early in 1414, Henry overpowered them at St. Giles' Fields, London; the greater part of the prisoners were hanged or burnt. In consequence of the condemnation of Wycliffe's teaching by the Council of Constance, all its adherents met with the most cruel persecution. Oldcastle was seized, in 1417, and burnt. Thus the unity and purity of the church was restored in England.

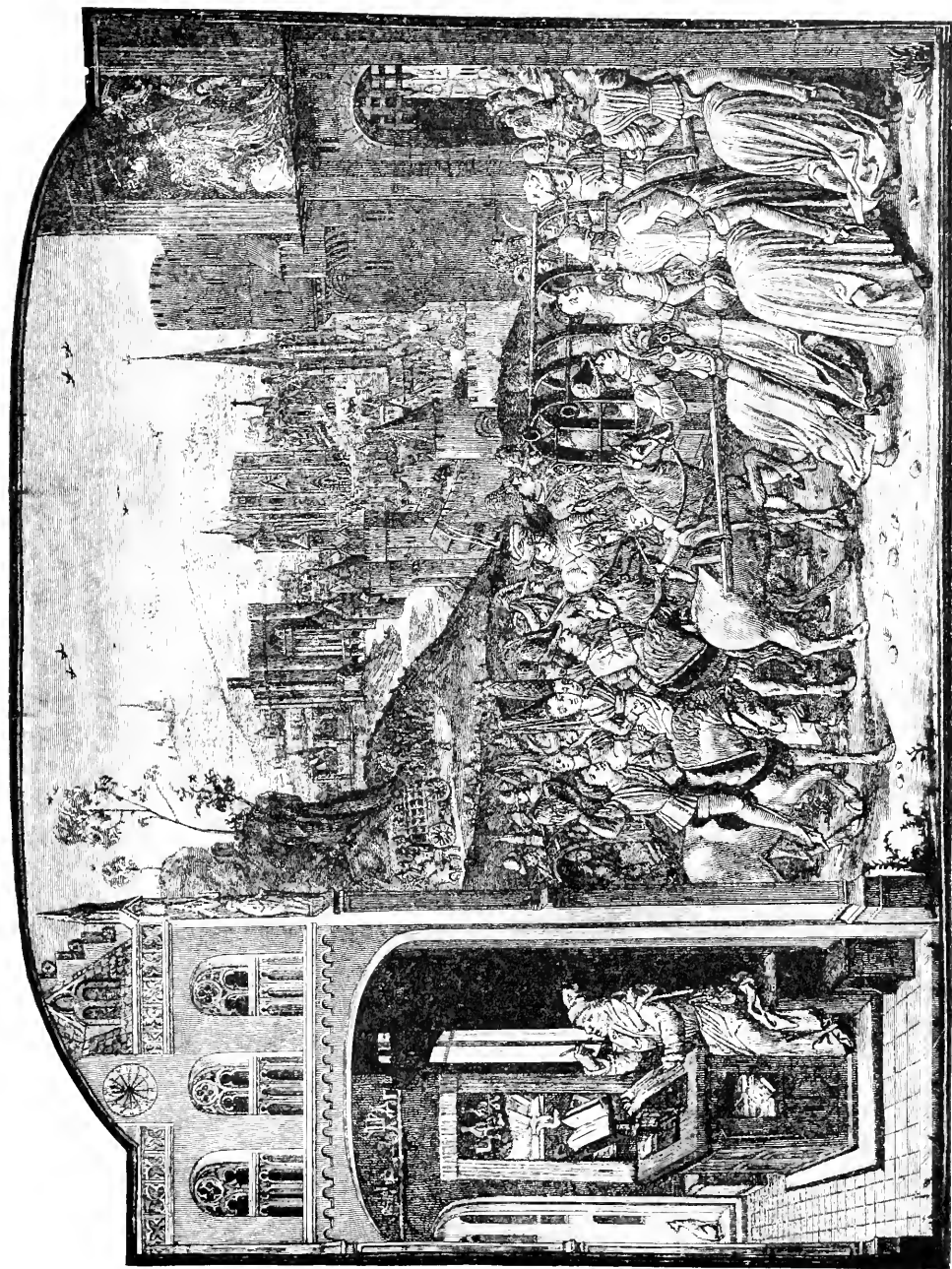
The nation calmly submitted to this breach of traditional policy, in view of Henry's plans of foreign conquest. For to unite his people and secure the rights of the Lancastrian house by national deeds of valor, Henry V. reverted to the war with France, whose internal dissensions promised easy and great success.

The prosperity and order which the beneficial rule of Charles V. had brought on France were followed, after his death, by growing disintegra-

tion. Much as his activity had benefited his country, the burden of taxation pressed heavily on the land; the social grievances which had led to serious disturbances under the late king, as dauphin, were not as yet removed; they were the more intolerable, because the arrogant higher classes returned to their former courses and widened the gulf between the classes. These incipient disorders developed unhindered when a minor ascended the throne, and a disunited and selfish regency held sway; for the uncle of the young Charles VI. (1380-1422), Duke Louis of Anjou, assumed the highest power as regent and president of the council of state. He abused his power by trying to use French resources to win the crown of Naples with the aid of the pope. Meanwhile, his brother, the Duke of Berry, as governor of Languedoc robbed the land without mercy to enrich himself and his creatures. Soon the oppressed arose in opposition. Already, in 1383, the people rebelled against the tax collectors. Horrible persecution of the Jews ensued, especially in Southern France. The movement seized on Paris itself. There the citizens organized bands for defence, called *maillotins*, after a weapon they used. The streets were chained off, and the gates closely guarded. The movement was fed by simultaneous similar events in Flanders, where the cities rose anew against their count, under the leadership of Philip van Artevelde.

Meanwhile, Louis of Anjou had pursued his claims to the Neapolitan throne. His cousin, the mighty Duke Philip of Burgundy, thereupon, in alliance with the ruling French nobility, undertook an expedition to help the Count of Flanders. As internal difficulties kept England from supporting the Flemish cities, the French again subjected them to their rule. In view of this victory the opposition ceased, even in Paris, and studiously sought to be tractable. In spite of that, the nobles thought they could treat it as if it had succumbed to open warfare. They hung the leaders of the popular movement and increased the taxes. There was no question whatever of summoning the States-General to ask them to grant supplies. France was thrown back a generation, and the feudal monarchy regained power, its absolutism weighing most heavily on Paris. At that time the Bastille was completed and the royal palace, the Louvre, furnished with fortifications. The root of municipal freedom was cut by depriving the citizens of the right to elect aldermen (*échevins*). The immorality of the court caused particular disgust. Since 1385 it centred about Charles VI.'s queen, Isabella of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, a frivolous woman whose influence was to prove baneful to France (PLATE IX.).

The personal rule of Charles VI., from 1388 on, wrought only



View of Paris in fifteenth century. In the foreground, the entrance of Queen Isabella. At the left, Froissart in his study.

Miniature of the fifteenth century in the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.
History of All Nations, Vol. X., page 206.



transient improvement. Weak in character and mind, the king soon fell under the influence of his demoralized and unscrupulous surroundings. But the outlook became completely hopeless when, on a campaign in Brittany in 1392, he suddenly became insane. Although his malady was occasionally softened into melancholia, the king was constantly exposed to repeated attacks, so that he was almost always incapable of governing. Nothing more pleasing could have happened to the feudal aristocracy. The king's uncles returned to their former power. But they were soon outstripped by the ambitious and brilliant Philip of Burgundy (Fig. 77). He took all the power unto himself and acted



FIG. 77.—Seal of Philip the Bold of Burgundy. (Berlin.)

like the lord and master of the kingdom ; consequently, the Duke of Orleans bore him bitter enmity. The hostility between Burgundy and Orleans split France into two parties which were soon to engage in civil war. One thing only was saved in the general chaos. In spite of the pitiful impotence of the king and the intrigues of the lustful queen, the

French people retained their pious veneration for their kingdom. They saw in the monarch not only the incarnation of the state, but also the guarantee of its future.

The greatest source of the disasters of the next decades lay in the opposition between France and Burgundy, which was aiming at complete independence. At first, France had intentionally favored the rise of Burgundy, because it seemed calculated to form a safe bulwark against Germany. The acquisition of Brabant, Limburg, Holland, and Flanders through marriage, had already greatly increased such tendencies as drew Burgundy away from France, when the conflict between the Duke of Orleans and Philip the Bold of Burgundy deepened the political antagonism and led to a violent outbreak. For when the somewhat misshapen son of Philip, John the Fearless, succeeded in 1404, he saw himself cast in the shade at court by the brilliant appearance of the knightly Orleans. The unscrupulous misrule of the court and Orleans after the king's illness, gave the Burgundian the desired means of drawing the great mass of the oppressed and dissatisfied people to his side.

In August, 1405, he took the step which opened an era of civil war for France. The court had left Paris from fear of the increasing disturbances among the citizens. Suddenly, John of Burgundy appeared, summoned the council of state, and brought in a formal charge against the ruling persons at court. At the same time, he gained support by restoring the rights and privileges of the city. The outbreak of the civil war was hindered once more in view of complications with England, which threatened a renewal of the foreign war. But the party hatred only smouldered to blaze up in the assassination of Louis of Orleans at Paris, on November 23, 1407. Nobody doubted that John of Burgundy had instigated the dastardly deed; but in the face of the Parisian mob, the court did not dare to take steps against the duke. Nobody prevented his leaving Paris soon after and retiring to his duchy. He even found literary defenders. A professor of the Sorbonne, Jean Petit, brought out a pamphlet, in which he undertook to justify tyrannicide with reference to recent events. The terrified court acted as if it was thoroughly convinced by Petit's false logic. Accordingly it made a peace with Burgundy in February, 1409, which acknowledged the assassination as a service to the country, and granted its instigator forgiveness. Orleans, on the other hand, was to renounce all demands for satisfaction, by the terms of the peace. Henceforth the Duke of Burgundy was absolute at court.

But the Orleanists nursed their wrath meanwhile. They only waited for an opportunity to subjugate the court and force it to take

measures against the Duke of Burgundy. In the spring of 1410 they formed a league at Gien in which the Count of Armagnac played such a rôle that the party henceforth took the name of Armagnacs. Civil war now broke out. The North—the Burgundian faction—and the South—the Armagnac one—now stood opposed to each other. The southern forces were chiefly Romanized Celts, still living according to feudal principles. They were joined by the marauding mountaineers, who had taken no part in the gradual development of the French nationality. In the north, on the other hand, the Germans had exercised considerable influence, so that the citizen class had there attained a leading position. Consequently national, political, social, and economic interests clashed in the great civil war. The struggle was especially violent in Paris. The attempt of the Armagnacs to set fire to the city drove the citizens completely into the arms of Duke John. They joined him the more gladly, as the duke gave free scope to democratic tendencies, although their direction soon slipped from his hands. The butcher's guild led the way; one of its members, the demagogue Caboché, rose to prominence, so that the mob were called *Cabochiens*.

Monarchy seemed to have abdicated. The heir to the throne, Louis, was a weakling from the results of his early dissoluteness. The schism in the church added to the general fear. Besides, a new English invasion threatened the country; for in his rage against the Burgundians, the son of the murdered Orleans in 1412 entered on negotiations with the hereditary enemy of France, and promised Henry IV. feudal homage. But that was too much for the people. They turned with loathing from the traitor, and rose furiously against his party. They robbed it of its possessions, while the church excommunicated it. Public opinion forced the king and dauphin into the camp of the Duke of Burgundy, with whom they had to make an alliance. Once more amicable relations thus set in quite unexpectedly. When the English landed in Brittany, Orleans did not go over to them after all, but declared for the national cause.

To carry on the war with England the government had to resort to a dangerous step. It had to summon the States-General, which had not met for many years. The session opened in 1413. But instead of granting supplies, the estates insisted first on the redress of their complaints. A committee was appointed, which brought dire persecution on the officials who were responsible for the abuses. The death of Henry IV. of England meanwhile removed the threatened danger, and removed also the necessity for unity. Neither the court nor the nobility recognized any further cause for making concessions to the despised third

estate. But when they attempted to take back those already granted, the Parisian mob seized the Bastille. The new dauphin, John, saved his life only by donning the white cap of the Bourguignons or Burgundian party. Paris had to submit to the horrible mob rule of the Cabochiens under Caboché, a new Étienne Marcel. The threatened upper classes hailed with joy the muster of the Armagnacs to overthrow the demagogue and his followers. John of Burgundy was also tired of such allies, and made overtures of peace to the Duke of Orleans. They made a treaty at Pontoise in the summer of 1413. With the aid of the better classes, they forced the Cabochiens to lay down their arms and to give up the strongholds in their power. Those who had compromised themselves most left Paris.

But again the Armagnacs abused their power by beginning a reaction, though it was contrary to the terms of peace. They annulled the reform decrees passed under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy, and persecuted his partisans. Consequently he took up arms again in January, 1414. The Armagnacs now roused the king enough to take the field under the sacred oriflamme against the Bourguignons. This had the desired effect. Many Burgundian cities fell before the combined royalists and Armagnacs, who were finally checked under the walls of Arras. But unity had already left their ranks; for the dauphin feared that he would again be forced into the background by the rising influence of the Duke of Orleans. At his instigation a peace was made at Arras in February, 1414, with the Burgundian duke, which ended the civil war for the time being. The rising danger of an English invasion had also prompted this reconciliation. Events soon showed how deceptive it was.

In August, 1415, Henry V. of England attacked France. At first he had little success. The siege of Harfleur failed, and put the English army in great straits. But an unsuccessful campaign would have caused great difficulties at home, and raised all the enemies of the Lancastrian rule. Therefore, Henry V. decided on a quick retreat to Calais to avert further disasters and to get reinforcements from England. But it was almost too late. The renewal of the national war had put new courage into the French. The Duke of Orleans and the Count of Armagnac were especially active in taking measures of defence, for success would react favorably in France, and secure their predominance. But for that very reason the Duke of Burgundy refused to help in the defence of his country. As the Armagnacs had a very superior force, they scorned the proffered help of the Parisians. At first everything went well. By barring the passages of the rivers the armed French nobility harassed the

English in their retreat northward. When they were delayed at the Somme in trying to find a ford, the French stole a march on them, and cut off their retreat. Consequently, after Henry V. had crossed the river he found his advance impeded, and had to accept battle under very unfavorable circumstances. The situation reminds one of that at the battle of Crécy, and the outcome, too, was just as unexpected. Henry took up a position near the village of Agincourt in a swampy, brush-covered plain. From behind the paling which he erected, his archers could use their weapons with excellent effect. It was they who really forced back the assault of the superior forces of the enemy on October 25, 1415. Thereupon the English took the offensive, and following the fugitives they cut down great numbers and took many prisoners. Of these 1500 belonged to the high nobility, among others the Duke of Orleans. The French lost 10,000, while the English lost only 1800.

The day of Agincourt proved much more fatal than that of Crécy or Poitiers, because the enemies of the Armagnacs used the defeat to get the power into their hands. John of Burgundy presently went to Paris and sought to become its master with the aid of the Cabochiens. But the Count of Armagnac, who held down the city with an iron hand, thwarted his attempt. For some time the count was the saviour of his country and the lord of the kingdom. The two oldest sons of Charles VI. died. The dauphin, Charles of Touraine, who was only fourteen years old, was weak in body and mind. He fell entirely under the influence of the terrible Count of Armagnac, who banished the immoral queen to Tours. To avenge this insult, Isabella communicated with the Burgundian party.

In the spring of 1417 civil war raged with full violence. The Duke of Burgundy publicly appealed to the people to put an end to the rule of the party in power; in this way he proposed to deliver France. The northern French cities approved of his scheme. But Paris itself was still held in check by the Armagnacs. Duke John, meanwhile, had come to an understanding with Queen Isabella. According to a preconceived plan, she allowed herself to be removed seemingly by him and carried to Chartres. There she threw off her mask. She maintained that she had been appointed regent, and that, therefore, none but her orders were lawful. The people were to obey only her and her counsellor, the Duke of Burgundy. Accordingly, she established a regular counter-government at Troyes, which was recognized almost throughout the North. Even Paris negotiated with her. In May, 1418, her adherents secretly admitted Burgundian troops into the city, who then openly declared for her. The dauphin rescued himself by escaping to the Bastille. The king had

to show himself to the people and sanction the change. Now the Bourguignons and their democratic followers again ruled over Paris. They killed all the Armagnacs in reach, whom the mob dragged from prison and tortured to death. Count Bernard of Armagnac found his death in this way. The dauphin fled from the Bastille to Melun and thence to Bourges, while many cities imitated the Parisian reign of terror. Frightened by his allies, the Duke of Burgundy offered terms to the dauphin, which he, however, rejected. At the advice of Armagnac's son-in-law, Duchâtel, the dauphin gathered the remaining Armagnacs around him, called himself regent, and set up a government of his own.

Henry V. of England, meanwhile, renewed his attack. At first, he conquered the greater part of Normandy, and forced Rouen to surrender, in January, 1419, after a siege of six months. He spared the city, and left its rights and liberties untouched. Now the French offers of peace came too late. Henry V. would admit of no other basis for negotiations than the restoration of the treaty of Bretigny of 1360, which had given England half of France. Consequently, there was a fresh attempt to unite the Burgundians and the dauphin for a common attack on the foreign foe; but the conciliation served only to enable his enemies, at the instigation of Duchâtel, to take revenge on the duke. When the parties were discussing a projected attack on the English, John the Fearless was assassinated on September 19, 1419, at the place of meeting, Montereau.

France had to pay a terrible penalty for this deed; for the successor of the murdered duke, Philip the Good of Burgundy, concluded a peace with Henry V. at Arras in the same month, by which he acknowledged the English king's hereditary right to the French throne. The king agreed to this compact. It was solemnly ratified by the Treaty of Troyes, in May, 1420. In June, the marriage of Henry V. and the French king's daughter, Catharine, followed. Paris hailed the English king as its saviour when he entered its walls with his young queen on December 20, 1420.

England's victory seemed complete. The union of the English and the French crowns under the house of Lancaster seemed ensured for the future when the parlement of Paris made the Treaty of Troyes a statute of the realm and robbed the dauphin of his right of succession. This it did on the charge of murder which the Duke of Burgundy brought against him, without mentioning his name, to be sure. But the French nation, deeply wounded in its sense of loyalty, warmly joined in the dignified protest made by the dauphin, and was ready to defend the inalienable rights of its native royal house with force of arms. But their prospects grew more and more alarming; for when Henry V. returned

from England, he won further victories in 1420 and the succeeding year. When his queen bore him a prospective heir to the English and French throne in December, 1421, the future of his house seemed secure. To complete his conquest, Henry now invaded the districts on the Loire.



FIG. 78.—Death-bed of an English king. Miniature of the fifteenth century. (From the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.)

But he fell very ill, and returned to the north. He died at Vincennes, on August 31, 1422, in his thirty-fifth year (Fig. 78).

By an unparalleled course of victory Henry V. had brought about a complete reversal of the balance of power in western Europe. King

James I. of Scotland and the Duke of Orleans were his prisoners, the Duke of Burgundy his ally. The marriage of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, with Jacqueline, the heiress of Holland and Hainault, opened the prospect of a considerable increase of power for his house. But Henry's death was fatal to the maintenance of this power; for when his idiotic father-in-law, Charles VI. of France, died, in October, 1422, Henry's infant son was considered, indeed, the heir of both the English and French crowns. But the majority of the French only saw a foreigner in him. The intense national feeling clung with passionate affection to the recent dauphin, now Charles VII. (1422-1463). The child of a morally degenerate age, and without eminent qualities of mind or heart, Charles VII. was nevertheless an influence by the mere force of his name and descent. The north alone stood by the succession of Henry VI. of England. Here the English hold rested on economic and political community of interests; and here, the Duke of Bedford, whom Henry V. had entrusted with the management of the French war, maintained the English position with such energy that Paris itself acknowledged Henry VI. In consequence, the situation of Charles VII. grew worse and worse. There was no hope of external help, as Scotland and Castile stood by France only as the enemies of England. Even the most courageous in France despaired of hope for the future. In mute despair the lower classes bowed to the inevitable, while the higher ones, imitating the thoughtless king and his dissipated court, tried to drown their misery in luxury and excess.

Such times of distress have always brought a heightened religious feeling in their train. Thus it happened that just about this time various signs of religious excitement appeared in France. In Artois and Picardy, a Carmelite monk, who preached doctrines similar to Wycliffe's, drew great crowds. In Paris, the masses listened to the words of a Franciscan, who interpreted the visions of the Apocalypse in the light of the present, and promised unexpected release. Many were reminded of ancient prophecies, which they deemed explicable only with reference to current events. Long ago the appearance of a "virgin from the oakwoods" had been promised them, who was to fight the "men with the bows." All expected her advent as the conqueror of the invincible English archers. This undefined conception of heavenly intervention in the shape of a woman, equipped with supernatural powers, accrued to the good of the royal office, and surrounded it with a reverential halo in the eyes of the nation.

Thus the ground was prepared for the wonderful appearance of the Maid of Orleans. Her advent, with its attendant seemingly supernatu-

ral successes, must be judged entirely from the standpoint of the popular fancy. That alone explains how the prostrate nation suddenly felt the glow of new life revive it, and how it rose to acts of which it had long considered itself incapable. On the other hand, the joyous faith of the people in her divine mission reacted favorably on the naïve belief of the deliverer in herself. This enabled her to do deeds which surpassed the power of even unusually endowed individuals. Consequently, the effect was, that a perfectly natural and rationally explicable occurrence shone with the blinding splendor of a supernatural intervention in the eyes of the Maid's contemporaries, and of future generations. In this light the simple peasant girl appeared as the instrument of God, sent for the deliverance of France.

Jeanne d'Arc was born on January 6, 1412, in Domremy, a village near Vaucouleurs, in Lorraine. Her parents were serfs on a crown domain. In after years, her youth, of which we have no definite knowledge, was adorned with all sorts of wonderful tales. Certain local usages may have wrought early on the sensitive spirit of the imaginative girl, and given it a turn to the lofty and unusual. Jeanne was fifteen years old when the terrors of war broke in upon her home. They agitated her sentimental nature, which was painfully excited by the news of worse misery in the west. At that time she first saw visions. She claimed that the archangel Michael had appeared to her and requested her to go to France to help the hard-pressed dauphin. After that she led a sort of dream life. Her visions came oftener and more distinctly. Their portents urged her more strongly to action. The opposition of her parents was unsuccessful. Jeanne resolutely rejected their plan of marrying her to a decent peasant, so as to distract her. Just then, in 1428, a Burgundian foraging party broke into Lorraine. Her family, like many others, had to flee from house and home, and witnessed the destruction which the war caused. That heightened Jeanne's visionary state. She already declared that she must obey the heavenly voices which constantly called on her to rescue France.

Individual successes which were due to the knightly La Hire and Count Dunois, an illegitimate Orleans, had enabled them to check the English career of conquest only for a short time. The belief in the future of France forsook the people more and more. Charles VII., who, with his jolly companions, looked upon the approaching doom with indolent indifference, went by the name of the "King of Bourges." Indeed, it seemed as if he would have to retreat even from that city; for the Duke of Bedford was concentrating his forces for a mighty attack on Orleans, which alone barred his way to the south. If it fell,

there was nothing for Charles VII. but to flee to Castile from Chinon, to which he had already withdrawn. Thus the fate of France and of the Valois hung on that of Orleans when Bedford made his assault in the autumn of 1428. The inhabitants bravely defended their city until the following spring; then the lack of provisions forced them to begin negotiations. They offered to surrender Orleans to the Duke of Burgundy, the ally of Bedford. The latter rejected the proposal, and the fight continued. All eyes were fixed with feverish excitement on the walls of Orleans, while the barons forsook their king, one after the other.

At that critical moment full certainty as to the meaning of her visions triumphed over the mind of Jeanne d'Arc. Her mission was to relieve Orleans and to conduct Charles VII. to Rheims, the lawful place of coronation. An uncle of the Maid sued Baudricourt, who then commanded in Vaucouleurs, for safe conduct to Chinon, in behalf of his niece. The commander denied it. Besides, her own family covered Jeanne with scorn and mockery, calling her a lunatic or a daring impostor. But the people thought otherwise. With increasing fervor they took the part of Jeanne, whose fame gradually filled the whole region. Baudricourt finally yielded to the weight of public opinion. In March, 1429, his men led her to Chinon through the war-swept land.

Her reception was hardly such as to encourage the Maid. But the manner in which she overcame the surrounding difficulties, with her unaffected naturalness, soon won her adherents even at court. To be sure, Charles VII. hesitated some time before he received her at all. It happened in the midst of his courtiers, among whom he took his place dressed in unassuming robes. Although Jeanne had never seen him, she found him out forthwith and confidently addressed him in modest yet candid terms. The king's doubts, however, were not entirely overcome until he had had private talk with the Maid, from which he returned deeply moved. But even if he decided to try fortune with Jeanne, the king was by no means convinced of her mission. He thought only of using her for his ends, to desert her at the first failure, and to sacrifice her if need be. The clergy, who consented to the arrangement with evident displeasure, seemed to justify the king's position. They subjected Jeanne to an examination at Poitiers, which impeached neither her orthodoxy nor her character. Finally the court, counting on her enthusiastic support among the people, granted the necessary means to the Maid for the relief of Orleans.

Clad in men's armor, astride a steed, Jeanne led her army under a banner which depicted her vision of the Virgin Mary enthroned on the

world. With a train of supplies, she cut her way into Orleans at the end of April, 1429. From this moment luck turned its back on the English besiegers. The French broke through their walls of defence in unexpected sallies, took their best positions, and filled the enemy with dread by the wonderful appearance of their leader. As early as May 8, Bedford had to retreat. Orleans was saved. The French had won a great victory, which was of immense moral value. Following the retreating foe, Jeanne inflicted a number of losses on them, which greatly discouraged and disorganized an army long used to victory.

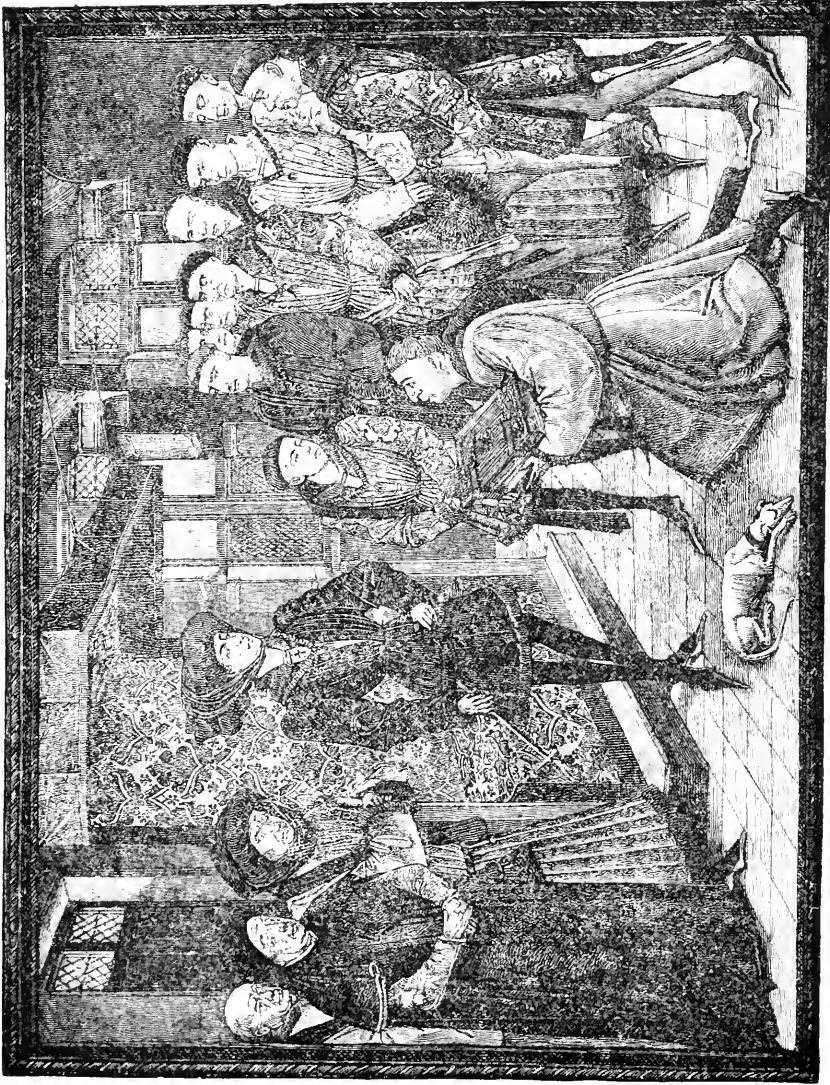
Nevertheless the court, influenced by the mistrustful and unfavorable clergy, still persisted in its equivocal bearing. Furthermore, the nobility, who had hitherto managed the war, were displeased with its popular character in the hands of the peasant girl. As a result, Jeanne's admonitions to take Rheims and have the king crowned there remained unheeded. But finally the nobility and clergy gave way to the pressure of public opinion, which declared ever more enthusiastically for the Maid. After Troyes had surrendered to the king he proceeded to Rheims, to which Jeanne had already cleared the way by a victory over Lord Talbot, at Patay, on June 18, 1429. The king was crowned and anointed on July 17. Now he was at last the absolutely lawful king of France in the eyes of the people.

This day marks the zenith of the Maid's wonderful career. Gerson, the champion of reform at the Council of Constance (see p. 22), gave voice to the sentiment of most of his contemporaries by saying that he considered himself fortunate to have lived to see the deliverer. Drawn by her renown, many came to her to ask her advice in various matters; but she never swerved from her aim, to satisfy them. She had fulfilled the mission which her visions had laid upon her. If she afterwards declared that she must drive the English entirely out of France, she set herself a task which was less exactly defined and less sharply bounded. She seems to have been no longer in entire harmony with herself. Her plans already roamed afar. She spoke of an expedition against the Turks and Hussites. Nevertheless, she still remained at court and with the army, of her own free will.

We have reached the point where we must decide whether Jeanne d'Arc was an adventuress who deceived the world by her incredible skill and still more incredible successes, or whether her wonderful deeds existed only in the overwrought imagination of her contemporaries. Both must be resolutely denied. The Maid of Orleans really did all those deeds, and psychology and medical science can explain them satisfactorily. Doubtless the Maid actually had visions and heard voices, and there is no doubt

that she did not invent those visions but perceived them subjectively. But we must deny the objective reality of her hallucinations just as decidedly. What Jeanne was firmly convinced of having seen could have had no real existence outside of herself. Through the regular return of her trance, which she sought for the sake of its blissful satisfaction, her being gradually became one with the conception of divine help constantly vouchsafed her. Thus she gradually rose to a pure and noble sensual ecstasy, which was free from every taint of morbidness. Now, such a state endows a noble soul and healthy nature with an unusual, seemingly supernatural, power. The coincidence of its thoughts and its imagined sensual perceptions casts a sort of transfigured light on such a soul and lends its outward form an imposing power. That, too, explains the fact that circumstances which disturb this harmony of soul and nature can weaken its material effect. That was the case with Jeanne d'Are at the last, and it was that which explains her tragical end. For while the enthusiastic people looked upon her as a new Messiah, the nobility and clergy clung to their preconceived opinion, eagerly watching for a compromising *denouement*. Jeanne felt that most clearly herself, and consequently she feared treachery from this side. And herein, too, her instinct led her aright.

The coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims had made a mighty impression on friend and foe alike. Had the king then concentrated his forces against the English he would have been sure of a decisive victory. But still the advice of Jeanne had no effect on the court. When she finally succeeded in moving it, it was too late. The assault on Paris in August, 1429, failed. It was warded off, and the Maid was wounded. Thereupon, Charles VII. again sank into complete inactivity, and Jeanne saw her every step hindered by the ill-will of the influential military leaders. She recognized that the conditions for a successful co-operation no longer existed, and decided to retire. She had already laid down her armor in St. Denis, when they begged her to stay. Against her inner conviction she gave way and abided by her post, although her serene confidence in herself had left her. This, in turn, caused the spell with which she had held all to forsake her. Her influence sank, especially as she gave way to the king, and retreated over the Loire. Doubts visited her; she saw that confidence in her was failing, and that the uncomfortable feeling which Charles VII. had always entertained toward her was growing on him. The result was a cessation of military operations. Thus the winter of 1429 passed. Finally, however, the Maid could no longer bear the situation. To ease her racking doubts she sought battle. On her own responsibility she took the field in the spring of



Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, receiving from Jean Wauquelin his translation of the *Chronicles of Hainaut*, composed by the Franciscan Jacques de Guyse, who died in 1399.

Original manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The translation, in three volumes, was made at the request of Philip the Good between 1416 and 1455. The duke is surrounded by his courtiers, among whom are five knights of the Golden Fleece. At his left stands his son, later Duke Charles the Bold. The illustration is the title-page of the first volume of the manuscript, and is the best example of the Flemish school of miniaturists.

1430, with a little army. She went to relieve Compiègne. Again she succeeded in breaking through the English lines and effecting an entrance. But during a sally on May 24, her men were overpowered by numbers and beat a retreat. While Jeanne tried to hold back the enemy, the gates of the town were over-hastily closed. After a despairing resistance she was overpowered, torn from her horse, and made captive by a vassal of the *Sieur de Ligny*.

Although the enthusiasm for Jeanne d'Arc had cooled off during the last months of inactivity, the people gave way to passionate grief on hearing of her capture. But the court at Bourges felt differently. Her enemies were open in their joy at being rid of the uncomfortable admonisher, without having been forced to resort to acts which might have offended the excited people. Indeed, there were certainly some who rejoiced at the fate which awaited the Maid at the hands of the English, who had long considered her a sorceress. From the beginning, her enemies were resolved to proceed accordingly. Bedford demanded the surrender of the prisoner, but Philip of Burgundy, the feudal lord of her captor, rejected his demand, although the Sorbonne, the theological faculty of the University of Paris, had straightway proposed an action for heresy against the Maid. Thereupon, the Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, raised the claim that Jeanne ought to be handed over to him because she had been captured in his diocese. In the name of the kings of England and France he bought off the *Sieur de Ligny* with 10,000 gold pieces. The Duke of Burgundy acceded, as he could not dispense just then with the aid of England in the forthcoming troubles in Flanders. (Cf. PLATE X.).

This decided the fate of the deliverer of France. But before she met her death, she was to be covered with everlasting disgrace as a deceiver, and ally of the devil. Thereby her enemies only deprived her victories of their effect, and condemned the government of Charles VII. as established by the foulest means, in the eyes even of the French. Thus they again furthered the cause of England. Pierre Cauchon undertook to direct the proceedings against Jeanne d'Arc. The examination to which she had to submit in Rouen on February 21, 1431, presents a revolting picture of the scandalous perversion of right, and of brutal violence. At first the Maid showed fate a bold front. Individual successes of the French seemed to confirm her, although they increased the hatred of the English, which endangered her position the more. She answered the cross-examination clearly and confidently, and avoided the pitfalls which her enemies prepared for her. Even the threat of torture did not frighten her; for new visions of the king's final victory strengthened her in

prison. But her strength gradually failed. About Easter she was so ill that the court feared her end. Cauchon thought he must hurry the more. He formulated the presumably proven charge against Jeanne in twelve articles. These he sent, without the records of the hearings or the Maid's justification, to the University of Paris, and to the chapter of Rouen cathedral. Of course the opinion of both bodies was to Cauchon's liking. They agreed that Jeanne was guilty, at any rate, of apostacy, blasphemy, the evocation of evil spirits, and the seduction of her fellow-countrymen to idolatry and carnage. If she did not recant, she ought to be given up to the temporal courts for further measures.

Accordingly, the final act of the tragedy took place on May 24, 1431, in the abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen. After a sermon, Jeanne was confronted with her supposed guilt. She reiterated that she acted solely from divine inspiration. She also reminded the court of what Cauchon had naturally suppressed, namely, that she had expressly appealed to the pope for judgment. Again, the answer was that such an appeal was too roundabout; besides, every diocese had its judge. Then they called upon her three times to recant. Jeanne declined. Consequently, her sentence was read, while preparations were making for its execution. That was too much even for her firm nature. The Maid declared her willingness to recant. By so doing she confessed herself guilty of everything which her scandalous accusers had imputed to her. Cauchon had reached his aim. The saviour of France was a self-confessed heretic in the eyes of the world. Now the form of recantation was read. Jeanne felt that she had declared her own death sentence. Completely broken down and distracted she let everything pass over her. She consented to the sentence, and let her hand be guided in setting her cross to the document which proclaimed her guilt. Cauchon then read the sentence. In the hope of repentance it condemned the Maid to life-long imprisonment "on the bread of adversity and the water of affliction." Then they led the almost unconscious victim back to her prison, where she was stripped of her male attire.

This unexpected issue of the suit was a grave disappointment to the English, who craved Jeanne's death. They cursed Cauchon for a traitor. But he knew well that a final act was to follow. In a few days it occurred. Exposed to the rude assaults of her keepers, Jeanne put on men's clothes again to protect herself. That made her guilty of a relapse. Meanwhile, death had lost its terrors for her. She took back the recantation, which had been forced from her in a state of unconsciousness. Consequently, the reassembled court declared her a relapsed heretic, and handed her over to the temporal courts. On May 30, 1431, her execution took

place in the market square of Rouen. When the flames were already playing around her, Jeanne d'Arc once more avowed the heavenly origin of her voices and visions. With the name of Christ on her lips she expired.

The English triumphed; but they were soon to learn that they had gained nothing by the execution of the Maid but the gratification of their hatred, for her successes held good in great part. Their moral effect lived on to revive and strengthen the national feeling; for her martyrdom gave a more tangible proof of her heavenly mission. The deep disgust which was felt for Cauchon and his helpmates found unrestrained expression everywhere. The angry populace tore the twelve articles publicly; nor did the clergy shrink from showing their active sympathy with public opinion. The impetus which the Maid had given to the national renaissance of France continued to gather force; for if Charles VII. still remained inactive in his court at Tours while Bedford was trying to have the boy-king, Henry VI., crowned in Paris with the aid of his degenerate grandmother, Isabella, the signs of a change favorable to the former "King of Bourges" nevertheless increased. The French again returned to their allegiance to the king. Besides, his mistress, Agnes Sorel, won a beneficial influence over Charles about this time. Her relation to him was later so exaggerated by a partial tradition, that Agnes Sorel, instead of the Maid of Orleans, became the representative of the national French revival.

The Council of Basel had, in its own interest, tried to bring about an understanding between England and France; but in vain. However, the inhabitants of Burgundy, which was not dead to all sense of connection with France, clamored for the final cessation of the fratricidal war. Consequently, the congress of Arras brought about a Franco-Burgundian peace, at least. The Valois had to pay dearly for it, to be sure; for Charles VII. had to condemn the murder of the Duke of Burgundy and promise the punishment of the guilty. But it was a worse omen for the future of France that the king had to give up the districts of Mâcon and Auxerre as well as the cities on the Somme. Besides, henceforth the dukes of Burgundy were to be free from homage and feudal service to the crown.

However, the treaty changed the military position of the English; for hereafter they would always have Burgundy in their rear. Consequently, the English sought to raise difficulties for the Burgundians by inciting the Flemish towns to rebel again. In spite of this, the allied Franco-Burgundian forces prevailed ever more against English superiority. The long-repressed national feelings of the Parisians, too, finally

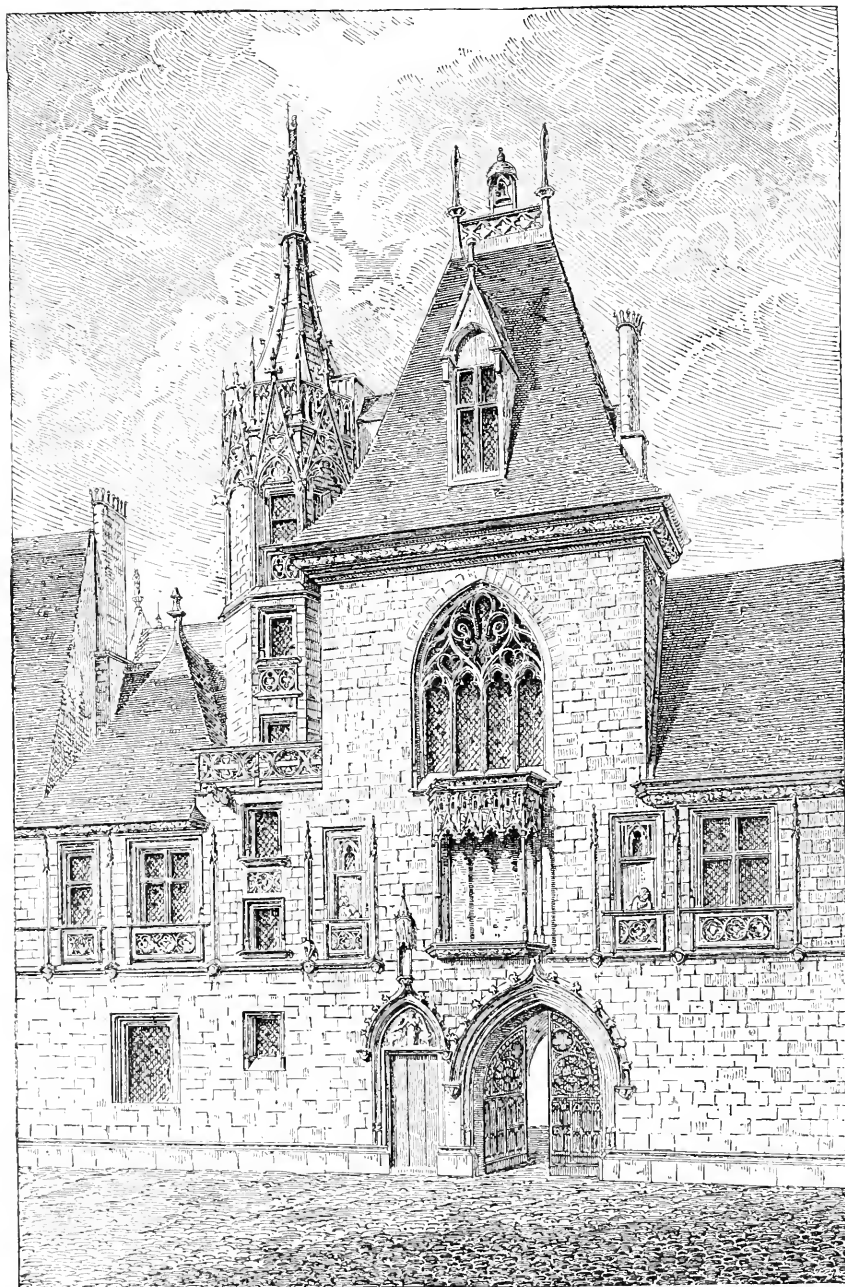


FIG. 79.—House of Jacques Coeur at Bourges. (From Gaillhabaud.)

drew a life-giving breath. In April, 1436, the gates of the city were opened to Charles VII. He granted the people amnesty and confirmed their rights and privileges. In general, he was a merciful victor. In 1439, negotiations began again, as the English were also tired of a fruitless war. But the English demands of a division of France by the Loire, which amounted to a restoration of the Treaty of Bretigny, were as unacceptable as ever. Therefore, a desultory war dragged on which did not bring decisive successes to either side.

But while the strength of England was sapped by internal difficulties, France was making rapid strides toward reforming the state. The king thoroughly revised the finances and the tax-system, with the help of Jacques Coeur (Fig. 79), a merchant prince of Bourges. Charles VII., in November, 1439, introduced by ordinance a number of innovations which paved the way for modern times in France. The English war and the civil war had destroyed the old institutions in the conquered districts. Even in the royal provinces the taxes had not been gathered for fear of revolts. The meagre supplies, however, which the estates of the various districts granted did not at all cover the growing needs of the state. But a change had taken place also in this field, in consequence of the appearance of the Maid of Orleans. Now the ordinance of November 1439 decreed that the income of the crown-lands should henceforth go exclusively to the support of the king and his court. The needs of the administration were to be defrayed by the so-called aids—i. e., duties on salt, on sales, and exports. The *taille*, a land- and poll-tax, however, was to be permanent. The 1,200,000 livres accruing from it were to furnish the army and pay the costs of war. Thus a sharp line was drawn between the military and civil administrations, which enabled a gradual growth of the latter in spite of the continuance of the war. Precisely these institutions mark the basis of the modern state in embryo. While, on the one hand, the relation between the king and his subjects became firmer and the administration had a marked civil character, the essentially royal character of the military was strongly emphasized; but as the *taille* fell on all Frenchmen without exception, the idea of citizenship was first practically carried out in France. The tax-gatherers were royal officials who were supported and advised by assistants chosen by the inhabitants of each district. A supreme exchequer (*cour des aides*) had the supervision of the whole financial system. Therewith was connected the regulation of the utterly corrupt coinage as well as the judiciary, at the head of which stood the Parlement of Paris.

The position thus gained enabled the king to exercise his authority with much more weight in military matters. Henceforth he had the

exclusive appointment of generals. He divided the army into the heavily armed cavalry, or *gens d'armes*, and the light foot-soldiers, whose leaders were responsible for the behavior of their men. Henceforth the principle obtained that no one could keep armed men without royal license. No one was to increase the numbers of those he already had, or raise levies for military purposes. This was a severe blow to the former independence of the nobility. They retaliated by uniting in a far-reaching league to defend their assumed rights. They thought they were perfectly justified in using the mercenary troops, which were likewise much dissatisfied with the king's military innovations. Not only the dukes of Bourbon and Mayenne, but even Louis, the dauphin, joined the conspiracy. The conspirators put the people in mind of the Hussites, whence their movement was called the "Praguerie." The insurgents sought in vain to win the Duke of Burgundy, who, since the marriage of his son with Catharine, the king's daughter, found it to his advantage to stand by Charles VII. By prompt action against the ringleaders, the king succeeded in stifling the insurrection before it had quite broken out. Henceforth the king was filled with a distrust of the dauphin which he never overcame.

The shrewd neutral policy which Charles VII. maintained toward the ecclesiastical difficulties of the time, and which led to the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438 (see p. 192), also bound the king and people together. The Hundred Years' War likewise turned more decidedly in favor of France. The growing military prowess of his people carried along the king, and inspired him with a lasting activity of which he had been thought incapable. In the spring of 1441 Pontoise was taken, the chief support of the English in the Isle de France, i. e., the district immediately around Paris. Amidst the acclamations of his people Charles VII. then entered his capital. In June he concluded a truce for three years with the English. That gave the French king the desired leisure to carry out his reforms. The growing exhaustion of England, and the internal difficulties of Henry VI. promised a definite peace. With this end in view, the English king was married to Margaret, the daughter of Duke René of Bar. She was to play a fatal rôle in England.

The first aim of Charles VII. was to get rid of the mercenary troops, which kept France from fully enjoying the armistice. He made over some of them to the German emperor, Frederick III., who wished to use them to subjugate the Swiss; but the bloody battle on the Birs, in August, 1444, thwarted this plan. Another part, which Charles himself led to chastise Metz, was cut to pieces under its walls. The king felt strong enough to dispose of the rest. He therefore resumed the reorgan-

ization of the army which he had begun. He took the best and most trustworthy of the captains of the mercenaries into his service, and had them form fifteen companies out of their best material. Each of these



FIG. 80.—Mediæval artillery before a city. Miniature of fifteenth century. Interesting as showing the transition from the old instruments of siege to cannon. (From the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.)

consisted of 100 "lances," containing six knights and archers each. Thus they formed a standing army of 9000 cavalry, a considerable number for that time. The king scattered these in divisions, sufficiently small not to be dangerous, throughout the kingdom. They were rigidly disciplined, and thoroughly drilled for their calling by regular exercises and musters. The remaining mercenaries were disbanded and forced to return to their homes. Everyone obeyed. From these beginnings the French military made rapid progress. Under the direction of Jean Bureau, Charles VII. also set up an artillery (Fig. 80). But for a great war the available troops were by no means enough. To meet the demand the king adopted another measure. In every district he had elected officers (*élus*) to select a number of men skilled in warfare. These he had carefully drilled in the use of weapons, especially the bow. They were to be called out only in case of war, and to be paid. In peace they went about their callings, and were free from taxes as a recompence for the duties they had undertaken; therefore they were called free archers.

The military creation of Charles VII. proved a great success at the outbreak of the war with the English, whose forces, to be sure, were more and more crippled by the crisis at home. In 1449 the French conquered Normandy, which was reunited with the French crown after the defeat of the English auxiliaries in 1450. In the following year the war raged chiefly in the south, where Guienne and Gascony had to be reconquered. There the French defeated Lord Talbot at Châtillon, in 1453. With the exception of Calais, France was freed from the foreign rule by 1454. Charles again united all the French-speaking peoples under his sceptre, which he wielded with such mildness that he disarmed and reconciled his former enemies.

But a dark spot still remained to be wiped out. Charles VII. had to clear the memory of the Maid of Orleans from the stain which scandalous injustice had fixed upon it, before his rule could be fully justified in the eyes of the outside world; for if the judgment of Rouen was to stand, the taint of sorcery would cling to his crown: in so far, also, a political motive actuated Charles VII. Consequently, the nation and the king finally took up a revision of the suit against Jeanne d'Arc. In 1452 a formal action was brought in at the papal court. Nicholas V. rejected it, for he feared a diminution of respect therefrom, and political complications both with France and England. But it was renewed, and Calixtus III. (1455-1458) gave way in 1455. A commission of the higher clergy carefully examined the correctness of Cauchon's protocols. The result was a crushing condemnation of Jeanne's judges. In July,



Session of the King's Court, or *lit de justice*, in the time of Charles VII. of France, at Vendome in 1458.

Miniature by Jehan Fouquet. Proceedings in the trial of John, Duke of Alençon, who was accused of having conspired with the English against France. (From Lacroix.)

1456, a new sentence was passed: it declared that Jeanne's testimony had been extorted, twisted, and falsified; the proceedings had been illegally concluded without regard to the appeal to the pope; Jeanne had been guiltless, and her family was entirely freed from every stain. To clear her memory, and to atone for the wrong done her, the king erected a cross on the spot of her execution. (Cf. PLATE XI.)

The war with England, after repeated truces, finally ceased. The French issued from it more firm and united than before. Henceforth the nation was more able than others to make its power felt abroad, through its strong national royal power and its ready national army.

CHAPTER X.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF NORTHEASTERN GERMANY THROUGH THE GERMAN-POLISH WARS. THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA TO THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

AT the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century Germany underwent not only a grave internal crisis, but also experienced the first territorial losses which made the maintenance of its former central position impossible. In the north the kingdom had to abandon its hegemony over the Scandinavian states, and in the south it lost Milan. On the other hand, Germany was drawn into complications with its eastern Slavonic neighbors, with the result that it succumbed to the anti-Germanic policy which ruled in those parts. The house of Luxemburg, above all, was responsible for having brought Germany to this pass. The Luxemburgers made Bohemia and its dependencies, Lusatia and Silesia, more and more independent of the realm. Their policy centred entirely in the east, because of Sigismund's possession of the Hungarian crown. The national forces which they used there to further the interests of their house soon got beyond their control, and rose against the eastern districts once conquered and civilized by the Germans. Thus it happened that, while the west was filled with the din of the Hundred Years' War, the old conflict between the Germans and Slavs raged in the northeast of Central Europe.

About a century had passed since the overthrow of the last great revolt of the Prussians. It was the zenith of the state of the Teutonic Order, in which, however, after the decease of Winrich von Kniprode, the signs of decay forthwith appeared; for the change which the cessation of religious wars brought about in the whole position of the Order naturally reacted on its relations to its subjects, who did not mean to have the rights and privileges which had been granted them on settling in the domain of the Order curtailed. Add to this the rise of a great foreign power through the union of Poland and Lithuania. Now the prime condition of the future of the state of the Order was the recovery of Prussia and the conquest of the Baltic coast. Meanwhile the Teutonic Order still maintained its predominant position abroad. Under Conrad von Yungingen (1393-1407) the Order seized the island of Gothland, which the dethroned Danish king, Albert of Mecklenburg, held in

forfeit. The knights put an end to the piracy of the Victualling Brothers on the island, and thus gained a maritime position which insured them a decisive voice in northern affairs. But internal dissensions already invaded their ranks. The nobility of Kulmland had formed the Lizard League (*Eidechsenbund*) in 1397 for the protection of their rights against the aggression of the Order. Already the cities considered similar measures, to avert the damage inflicted on their trade by the commercial operations of the Order.

About this time the national agitation attendant on the accession of Jagello, of Lithuania, to the Polish throne as Wladislaw II., increased anti-German sentiment in Poland. The diplomatic arts of Sigismund, who tried to repress Poland and at the same time make the Order subservient to his family policy, proved a failure. Nor could they prevent the outbreak of open war. The bone of contention between the Order and Poland was the New March of Brandenburg and the district around Driesen. This latter was the only means of communication between the Order and Germany. Hostilities broke out in 1409, which stopped only for a short time when Sigismund mediated a truce.

In the spring of 1410 a terrible national war broke out in the north-east of Germany. Under the leadership of Wladislaw II. and the Grand Duke Witold, the Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, and Tatars, reinforced by Bohemian mercenaries, invaded the lands of the Order. Its Grand Master, Ulrich von Yungingen (1407-1410) was at Thorn with German reinforcements when he heard that the enemy was marching straight on Marienburg, wasting the country far and wide. By a hurried night march he proceeded thence, and found the enemy on June 15, 1410, encamped on a ridge near Tannenberg. Forthwith he prepared for battle. But the enemy refused to accept it, until a formal challenge, and the urgent demand of Witold, induced the wavering Wladislaw to decide on battle. The armies clashed with terrible force in the intervening ravine. The Poles could not withstand the charge of the German cavalry, and wavered. A fresh charge rode down the Lithuanians on the left flank, and drove them in headlong flight. But the pursuit made a gap in the ranks of the German army. Into this opening the Poles hurled themselves, forcing the enemy to fall back. When the pursuing part of the Germans returned they were themselves met and hard pressed by a superior force which had followed them. At this critical moment the Grand Master with a picked body of men made a sudden attack on the centre of the opposing army, which the Polish king and his train held. A Polish nobleman saved the life of his king, whereupon Yungingen and his men were surrounded and cut down. Heavy as this loss

was, the defeat of the Order was decided only when the reserve of Prussian noblemen, who belonged mainly to the Lizard League, deserted their banner and left the field. Thereupon the whole German army took to flight. But the Poles and Lithuanians drove them into the surrounding marshes and fens, and cut down great numbers. The number of dead and captured was very large. The strength of the Teutonic Order was broken for the time being. Had the victors followed up their victory, the whole of Prussia must have fallen into the hands of the Poles.

But their wavering and timid king was not the man to act immediately. Under the circumstances it was fatal to the Order that the majority of its members and subjects, thinking its rule had come to an end, rivalled one another in forcing the king to take steps for which he himself lacked the courage. The commanders surrendered their castles to him only to leave the country, and in some cases to carry off the treasures of the castles. The nobility and towns hastened to pay homage to the new lord, in order to be rewarded by rights and privileges which they could never have wrung from their former ruler. If the castle of Marienburg fell likewise, the destruction of the Order was inevitable. The commander of Schwetz, Henry von Plauen, recognized this. He hurried with his men to Marienburg, to which he drew the garrisons of the castles which had not fallen as yet. But his 4000 men did not suffice for the defence. Therefore, Plauen had the city partly burned and housed the inhabitants safely in the castle. After vain negotiations Wladislaw II. began the siege. But although the desertion from the Order went on, Marienburg held out. Infectious diseases broke out in the Polo-Lithuanian camp. Add to this the growing estrangement between the king and the Lithuanians. Furthermore, Germany finally took steps for the protection of its frontier. At the end of September, 1410, Wladislaw raised the siege and withdrew, pillaging, to the south. Thereupon the Order rose anew. The restless activity of Plauen, who had been made governor, and the aid of the German reinforcements, succeeded in reconquering more and more of the lost territory. As Wladislaw remained inactive, the disappointed renegades returned in increasing numbers to their rightful lord. Thus Plauen, meanwhile made Grand Master, could make a peace at Thorn in February, 1411, which was unexpectedly favorable. But it settled none of the contested territorial questions. On the other hand, the Order was burdened with financial indemnities which it could not pay. It had to pay 6,000,000 groats *pro rata* for the ransom of captives.

The exhausted country could only raise such a sum by straining its

taxing power to the utmost. Nobody felt the burden more than those who had discarded the Polish allegiance for the old one. These circles again contemplated disloyalty. The renewed desertion of Dantzic was thwarted by its commander, a brother of Henry von Plauen, who punished it by the unlawful execution of the two ringleaders. The issue of worthless notes and the levy of a general tax by the Order only increased the discontent. That gave its old enemy, the Lizard League, ample opportunity for constant agitation. Withal, the Order was at swords' points with Wladislaw about the execution of the terms of the peace. He raised exceptions here and misinterpreted there, only to have some sort of pretext for a renewal of hostilities. The Grand Master saw through his schemes. He recognized that only the quickest possible outbreak of war could draw the Order out of the threatening snare. But the prospect of success depended entirely upon the eager support of the Order's subjects. Plauen must ensure that first of all. He offered his subjects a part in the administration of affairs by establishing a general council (*Landesrat*). It was to consist of twenty representatives of the nobility and twenty-seven of the cities, and was to meet annually at Elbing. The council was to have a share in the regulation of finances and coinage, the levying and assessing of taxes and dues; besides, the country was to hold it responsible in part for its administration.

No one can gainsay that this was a happy thought on the part of Plauen. However, the innovation met with determined resistance from the Order. Quite apart from it, the knights grumbled at the severity with which the Grand Master tried to restore discipline, and even accused him of aiming at royal power. He had already been forced to punish several conspirators unmercifully; now he threatened to secure his subjects from the tyranny of the members of the Order. As a result the latter rebelled openly against its head, the very moment the Polish war broke out again. Smarting under the punishment with which the Grand Master had chastised him for insubordination, the Marshal of the Order, Michael Kűchmeister of Sternberg, led the insurrection. At a meeting of the chapter of the Order in Marienburg on October 14, 1413, he and his adherents brought a formal charge against Plauen, chiefly on the ground of his having established the General Council. By a violent breach of the law the General Chapter deposed him; but as his guilt was not proved, it could only banish him as commander to the Engelsburg, one of the most miserable and distant castles of the Order. But the leaders of this *coup d'état* did not feel safe so long as Plauen was free. In May, 1414, they had him arrested on the fictitious ground of treasonable correspondence with Poland. The charge was never proved,

and consequently the inevitable punishment never executed. But for ten years the hero was held in miserable captivity as a prisoner of state. Finally the Grand Master, Paul von Russdorf, released him. He was made warder, i. e., superior of Lochstädt in Samland, a non-conventual castle of the Order. There the martyr died at the close of 1429.

Dire vengeance fell upon the Order for the injustice it had done its last great hero and statesman. The Polish war continued, though it was not formally declared. The frontiers suffered severely. Trade and commerce were greatly damaged, thus increasing the discontent of the disaffected subjects of the Teutonic Order. The Council of Constance, which had drawn the matter before its tribunal, did not dare to decide against Wladislaw and Witold, whose assistance it needed against the Turks. Sigismund persisted in his vacillating policy. Consequently, Poland could make ever greater claims on the Order. It demanded the restoration of Pomerellen, Masovia and Kalmland. That amounted to a dissolution of the Teutonic Order. Even Sigismund rejected those demands in his arbitrament pronounced at Breslau in 1420. The voluntary abdication of Michael Kűchmeister in 1422 was a tardy but nevertheless the best *amende honorable* that could be made Henry von Plauen. It spoke still more for Plauen's ability that Kűchmeister's successor, the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf (1422-1441), adopted the policy which Plauen had inaugurated. Of course it was not successful. Russdorf only caused greater confusion, and gave the Poles and his disaffected subjects every opportunity of playing into each other's hands.

The renewed war with Poland had to be stopped because the Prussian estates refused to participate. The peace of Melnosee, which resulted in 1423, cost the Order more than Galindia and Samaitia. It contained the fatal clause, that the subjects of whichever party broke the treaty should be free from allegiance to the party concerned. This left the Prussian estates the power to rebel with impunity, and to unite with Poland whenever they chose. The same strained relations to Poland kept on, while the land was ravaged in 1433 by Hussite inroads. On Wladislaw's death the next year his successor, Wladislaw III., brought about a so-called "Eternal Peace" at Brzese in 1435. But it not only cost the Order some territory but also hurt its position with the Polish bishops, while it cut off certain of its resources. Violent internal discussions did not tend to improve the condition of the Order. The knights were at one in absolutely rejecting the concessions which the Grand Master made his subjects. This removed every hope of the restoration of internal peace. Self-help was the last resort of the estates. In 1439 delegates from Elbing, Thorn and Kulm met to discuss the

project of common action for the improvement of their condition. Naturally the nobility did not hold back. A lively agitation sprang up. In 1440 the cities, of the west chiefly, made a league at Marienwerder for the common defence of their rights against the arbitrary rule of the Order. The nobility joined the League, which soon united the majority of the Prussian estates against their territorial lord. In vain an influential nobleman, Hans von Baisen, tried to mediate. He finally became the leader of the league himself. He was well fitted for his part on account of his connection with the Polish court.

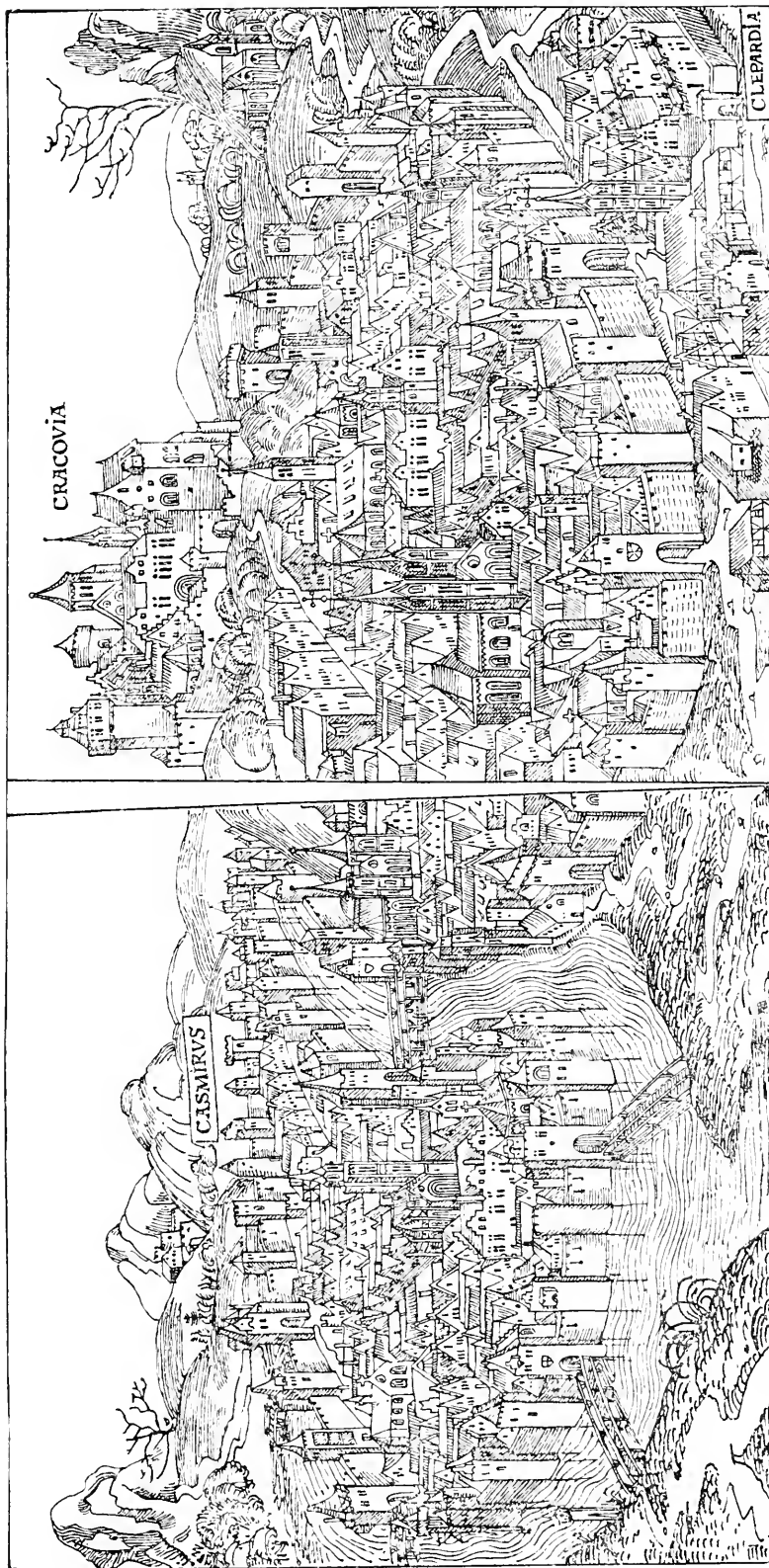
As he was unable to break up the League, Paul von Russdorf confirmed it. He declared his willingness to have all abuses examined and remedied by representatives of both parties. The estates had completely triumphed over the Order. The latter itself charged the Grand Master with treachery, so there was nothing for Russdorf but to abdicate. His successor, Conrad von Erlichshausen (1441-1449), had to adapt his bearing to the League to the will of the majority of the Order. His reintroduction of poundage, a tax on the pound of imported merchandise, to further the Order's trade, brought upon him not only the enmity of the Russian towns, but also of the Hanseatic League. Finally he was forced to make concessions again. To make that impossible for the future, the officials of the Order made Conrad's nephew, Louis (1450-1467), submit to a formal capitulation at his accession, in open defiance of its statutes. It obliged him to consult the officials and commanders of the Order in all weighty matters, and concerned especially all matters touching the League. But now the estates, too, wished to make their recognition of the Grand Master conditional on his confirming their League and remedying their grievances. Louis von Erlichshausen had to submit to this demand likewise. Not until he had solemnly sworn to do away with certain of the worst abuses, did the estates acknowledge their allegiance to him. But the form of their oath of fidelity was of their own choosing. Neither the Grand Master, however, nor the Order intended to fulfil the obligations assumed. They used every means to break up the League. The cities and noble members united the more closely and took the first step toward securing the aid of Poland. The Order also sought help. In its extremity it applied to both the emperor and the pope. A papal legate appeared in Prussia to dissolve the league in the name of the church. That only embittered the opposition. The Order played a very sorry rôle by bringing an action against the Prussian League in the imperial court. Naturally the estates sent representatives to the court, but at the same time they applied for help and offered submission to the Polish court. In spite of many scruples, Wladislaw finally

acceded to their proposals. Meanwhile, the Prussian estates had mustered their forces, when at last the imperial judgment was proclaimed. It dissolved the League as illegal, and demanded the punishment of its originators and abettors. Thereupon, the League formally disavowed its allegiance to the Order on February 4, 1454. All the waverers followed suit when it became known that the Order had tried to assassinate Hans von Baisen, the leader of the League.

Thus the baneful thirteen years' war of the Prussian cities broke out early in 1454. It cost Germany the eastern marches, and gave them over to the misrule of the Slavs for several centuries. In a few months the Order lost its grasp on the country, with the exception of a few fortresses. Marienburg still belonged to it. The hopeless condition of the Order is apparent in Louis von Erlichshausen's prayer for mediation to Casimir IV. of Poland. Thus the Grand Master of the Order rivalled the League in playing false to his country. On February 21, 1454, Hans von Baisen, in the name of the Prussian estates, declared their submission to the crown of Poland before the king and diet in Cracow (PLATE XII.). Poland immediately declared war on the Order. A treaty was made on March 6, 1454, which regulated the future relations of Prussia to Poland. The king promised the preservation of local privileges and the abrogation of poundage and other obnoxious dues in Pomerellen. Only natives were to fill the offices of state, and the League was to have a consultative voice in all state affairs. The governor was to represent the Polish king. Casimir IV. shrewdly chose Hans von Baisen for the post. Presently the League took a solemn oath of allegiance to the Polish king.

But the progress of the war did not come up to the expectations of the Poles and the Prussian rebels, on account of the Order's resistance. The smaller towns soon saw how little they had gained by transferring their allegiance. The country split up into two parties. The larger cities, such as Dantzic, Thorn and Elbing, together with their dependent ones on both sides of the Vistula, followed their commercial interests and adhered to Poland. The poorer agricultural towns of Eastern Prussia stood by the Order and retained their German character. Finally, however, the Order succumbed, less to a military than to a financial crisis; for as it could no longer pay its mercenaries, they had to be bought off by mortgages on the castles which they garrisoned. As the Order was even then unable to meet its obligations, the mercenaries tried to get their pay by selling the castles and cities to the enemy. Thus, in 1455, even Marienburg fell into the power of the rebels. It was retaken in the next year by the faithful mayor, Bartholomew Blume, and did not finally surrender until 1460. Blume died on the scaffold. A desultory

PLATE XII.



Cracow at the close of the fifteenth century.
Reduced facsimile of a view in the Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel for 1493.

war of plunder and pillage dragged on for some years, only relieved by a futile truce. Finally it ended in the second peace of Thorn on October 18, 1466, which the pope had brought about. The Order lost half its possessions. The east, which remained to the Order, became a feudal fief of the Polish crown. It was bound to help Poland against all its enemies, and could not make treaties with foreign powers without Poland's consent. The Polonization of the Order was begun by the stipulation that henceforth half of its members should be Poles, and that Poles should be admitted in equal numbers to all its offices. Besides, the Order had to grant a general amnesty to the rebels.

The land, which had been filled with agricultural prosperity, was a desert. Its inhabitants had in great part died of hunger, misery, and disease. The western half, severed from the Order, had also paid a price for its supposed freedom which was out of all proportion to its gain. Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, which had borne the brunt of the war, were financially exhausted, and for many years carried a heavy load of debts. To be sure, their convenient communication with Poland opened up to them untold sources of wealth. By utilizing these, Dantzic became the leading emporium of the north, and won an influential political position. Otherwise, these cities soon learned how little Poland intended to keep its promises. It desired rather to change the Polish over-lordship to full sovereignty, and thus thoroughly Polonize the country. To avert this doom the forces of the smaller towns and the country-side were insufficient.

The effects of the downfall of the mighty state of the Teutonic Order were felt far beyond its boundaries; for it deprived Germany of its chief bulwark and its chief military force against the northeast. It was fortunate for Germany that the Slavs at that moment lacked the man to concentrate their powers and lead them to the desired end. Many had looked to the Lithuanian prince, Witold; but his death, in 1430, dashed such hopes to the ground, for Wladislaw II., who now definitely united Lithuania and Poland, was neither fit nor willing to lead his nation on to victory. On the contrary, he pacified the Polish nobility with vast rights and privileges. In consequence the authority of the king sank low, while the citizens and peasants were reduced to serfdom, and the Polish state declined rapidly. The succession of Wladislaw's minor son, Wladislaw III. (1434-1444), accelerated this downward course. The government fell into hands of the court nobility. This circumstance led to the failure of prospects which the Hussite movement opened to the house of Jagello; for one faction of the Bohemians wished to crown the Polish king or a member of his family king of Bohemia, instead of King Sigismund of

Germany. But the memory of their former union made a renewed one between Poland and Hungary much more acceptable to the Poles. After the death of Albert II., the Hungarian nobility strove to marry his widow, Elizabeth, to Wladislaw III., but the queen-widow objected. In spite of her objection, the Polish king was crowned king of Hungary at Buda. But at first he had to fight hard for his crown against the numerous defenders of the rights of Albert's posthumous son, Ladislaus. The conflict was still undecided, when a threatened Turkish invasion drew off both parties. In 1444, Wladislaw III. lost his life in the battle of Varna, which was a victory for the Turks.

The Polish magnates chose, as king, Casimir, the only brother of the late king, who died childless. But he who had recently conquered the principality of Lithuania, was not inclined to accept the degraded Polish crown. Thus an interregnum of almost four years (1444-1447) ensued. Casimir did not change his mind until the Poles offered their crown to Duke Boleslas of Masovia; he then (in the summer of 1447) was crowned at Cracow. The interregnum had naturally strengthened the power of the magnates. Casimir strove in vain to break it. For years he refused to take the oath to support the constitution of Poland. At last he had to acknowledge it solemnly at the diet of Petrikau, in 1453. Henceforth, Poland was an aristocratic republic. But the increased claims on the time and powers of the nobility now grew to such an extent that they could no longer give the proper attention to state affairs. This circumstance led to the formation of a representative government. The provincial assemblies of notables elected representatives, who in their name were to vote taxes and direct state affairs in a manner binding to all. There was no definite relation between the number of the electors and the elected, nor was the number of the latter fixed. How arbitrary this form of government was appears from the fact that, regardless of the existence of representatives, every nobleman had the right to appear at the diets and cast a vote which had the same weight as those of the representatives. The high court- and crown-officials, who had formerly been members of the king's privy council, still held the first place at the diets. They now formed the senate, and were a privileged body. The principle soon obtained, that without this representative body of the nobility no innovation could be introduced nor the constitution in especial changed. Naturally there was no room for city representatives in this aristocratic republic. Heavy retribution for their treachery to the German cause fell upon the western, now Polish, half of the state of the Teutonic Order; for its cities and nobility were drawn into this system of government, which inevitably led to barbarism.

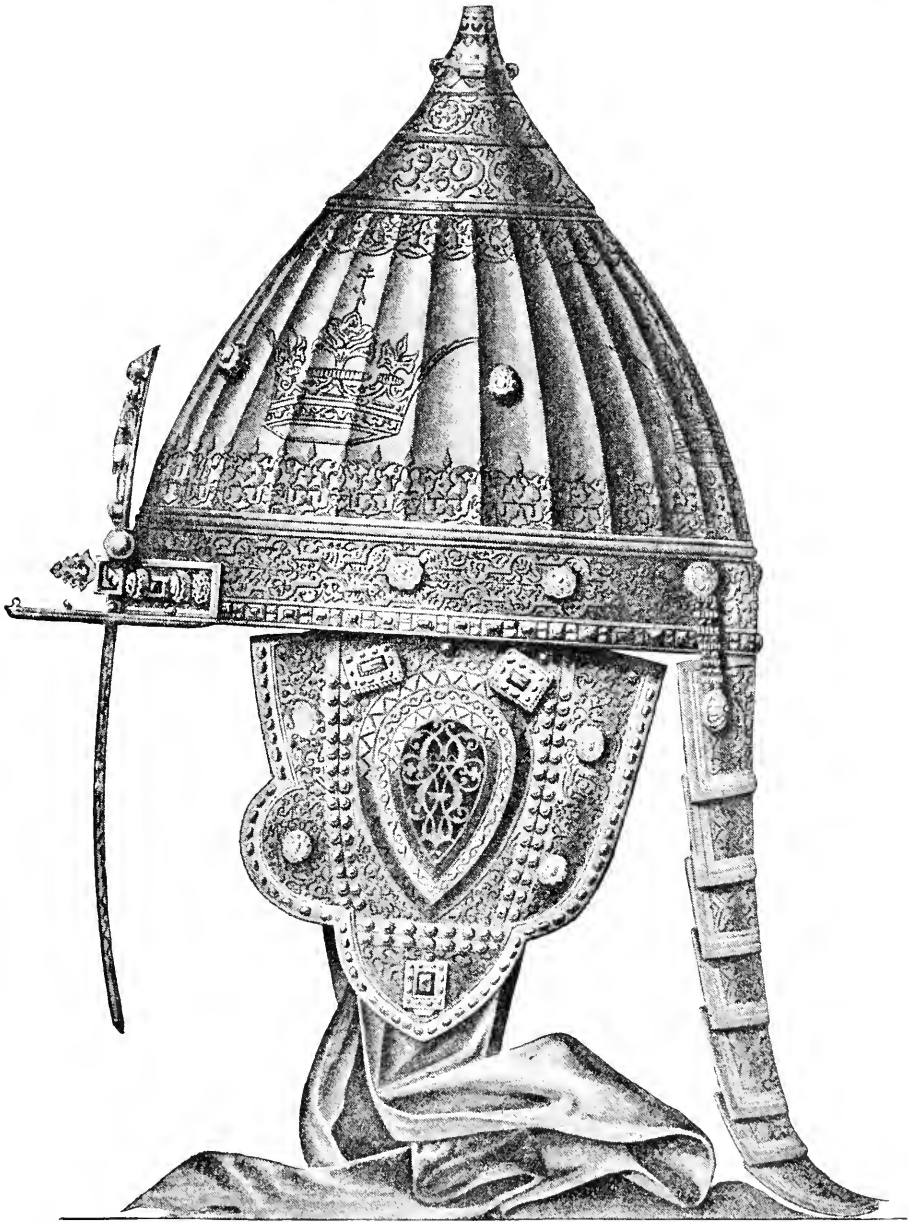


FIG. 81.—Helmet of the Russian Grand Prince Alexander Nevski (1218–1263). Wrought out of red copper, with ear-pieces and neck-protector of seven pieces of damascened metal worked in gold. The helmet has an Arabian inscription from the Koran: "Help from God, victory at hand, announce to the faithful." This inscription, the crown and crosses etched on the helmet, and the Asiatic character of the work seem to indicate that it was made in the age of the Crusades. Moscow, Kremlin. (*Antiquités de l'empire de Russie.*)

While Poland, irrespective of internal decay, exercised great influence abroad in the first half of the fifteenth century, the neighboring country of Russia still groaned under its subjugation to the Mongols. It was just making laborious efforts to gather strength for national unity. The principality of Moscow was the centre of this movement. There the house of Kalita, which was founded by a grandson of Alexander Nevski (Fig. 32), a tributary to the khan of the Golden Horde, were the hereditary rulers. By shrewdly fulfilling all its duties to the barbaric overlord, this dynasty secured his grace and favor. Free from interference at home, the house of Kalita could subjugate the petty Russian princes. Thus, in spite of its dependence on the Mongolians, Moscow was already considered the capital of Russia by the middle of the fourteenth century. Its ruler was called the Prince of Moscow. Especially under Dimitri



FIG. 82.—Caps of the archbishops of Novgorod; fifteenth century. In the vestry of St. Sophia at Novgorod. (*Antiquités de l'empire de Russie.*)

(1362–1389), the consolidation of the Russian lands progressed so that the country felt strong enough to try to throw off the Mongolian yoke. In 1380, Dimitri, with most of the Russian princes won a victory over the Mongols on the plains of Kulikovo, on the Upper Don, which finally promised the Russians full freedom. But presently the Mongols overwhelmed them with a second invasion. The Khan Timur (Tamerlane), as the follower of Jenghiz Khan, renewed the Mongolian empire. The remnants of the Golden Horde in Kiptelak also bowed to his rule, and gained new strength through incorporation with the military state. As governor for Timur, Toktamish demanded the old tribute from the Russians. He enforced its payment in 1382 by threatening to raze Moscow. Thus the old dependence was restored. But as the Russians had free sway at home their power increased unhindered; hence Dimitri succeeded in conquering Novgorod (Fig. 82) and making it tributary. He furthered

the maintenance of his power by substituting the principle of primogeniture for the seniorate¹ in the Russian principalities. Accordingly, Dimitri's eldest son, Vasili (1389-1425), succeeded. He continued his father's policy of maintaining amicable relations with the Mongols, and subjugating the Russian princes. He could even thwart the plans of Witold, the Lithuanian, in part, by marrying his daughter Sophia and giving up Smolensk to him. Although Mongolian invasions still occurred at intervals, Russia progressed steadily and approached the standard of Western European culture in greater measure. Vasili's reign marks the beginning of Russian legislation, the fortification of towns, and the transformation of the old military, chiefly by the introduction of gunpowder. But the people clung the more doggedly to the Greek Church (Fig. 83), in which they saw one of the foundations of the growing national state. Consequently, the Russians positively declined the attempts then made toward a union of the Greek and Roman Churches.

In contradistinction to Russia, the Scandinavian states succumbed to disintegration from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The union of Kalmar of 1397 had not sprung from a national necessity, but had been meant to further dynastic interests. At first the people deceived themselves on this point, because the policy adopted on the basis of the union was anti-German. The crash came in Schleswig. This country was hotly contested after the arbitration of Emperor Sigismund granted it to Eric of Scandinavia as personal property. Supported by the Hanseatic League, Duke Henry, and, after 1427, his brother Adolphus, beat off the attack of the enemy. To obtain means for the war, King Eric made ever larger concessions to the Danish nobility at the expense of the crown. On the other hand, the peasantry fell into poverty and serfdom through the weight of the public burdens.

The particularistic policy of Sweden soon showed how little the union of Kalmar had taken root in the three united nations. An uprising of the peasants in 1433 resulted in the regency of two native nobles for Sweden, which nominally still clung to the union. Of these, Charles Cnudson Bonde was made commander of the army and navy, and Christian Vasa was placed at the head of the administration and judiciary. Endless conflicts naturally followed, so that Eric finally left the country, when Charles Cnudson Bonde alone conducted the regency. The reckless king held his court on the island of Gothland. Now the discontent in Denmark also broke out in revolt. The peasantry rose against the oppression

¹ The seniorate is an institution by which the oldest male member of a family succeeds to the throne. Thus an uncle has precedence over the oldest son of a deceased king.



FIG. 83.—Ciborium of the Greek Church. Silver, gilded; dated 1486. In the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the Kremlin of Moscow. (*Antiquités de l'empire de Russie.*)

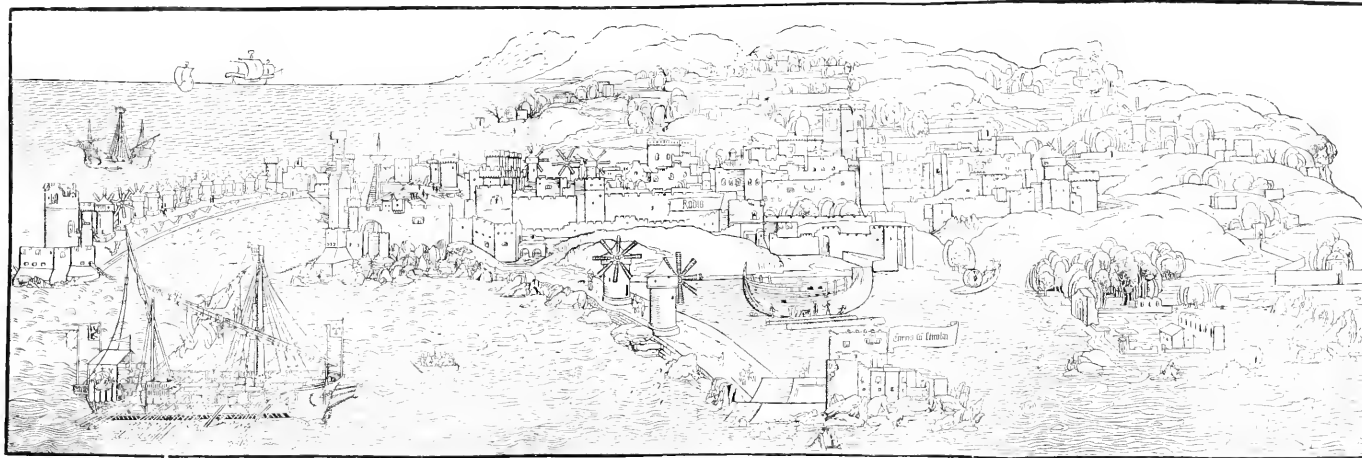
of the nobility. Jutland called upon Duke Adolphus of Schleswig for help, while Norway had to suffer from the administration of the king's stewards. The union was already practically dissolved when the Norwegian and Danish diets declared King Eric deposed and raised his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria, to the throne. Although Cnudson Bonde retained his position, Sweden acknowledged Christopher as king, at least nominally. His circumspect and energetic policy gradually won him a better position, inasmuch as the crown was freed from troublesome outward interference by the peace which he made with Adolphus of Schleswig. But in 1448 Christopher's childless death brought on new disturbances. In Sweden, Cnudson Bonde was elected king, while the Danes raised the nephew of Adolphus of Schleswig, Count Christian of Oldenburg, to the throne. He tried to strengthen his hold by his marriage with Christopher's widow, while King Eric lived riotously in the castle of Wisby. Thence he was dislodged by Cnudson. He gave up Gothland to the Danes and returned to his Pomeranian home. Meanwhile, the fight went on between Cnudson and Christian of Oldenburg; for the latter was recognized also in Norway, which he formally united to Denmark in 1450. Not until Cnudson's arbitrary rule occasioned a revolt did Christian succeed in gaining ground in Sweden. Here he was acknowledged king in 1457, whereupon Cnudson went into exile. Nevertheless, even now the union of the three states was more apparent than real. A capitulation forced on Christian at his election granted him the right of electing a successor. But in return, the Danish nobility gained such an influence in taxation, the appointment of officials, and the whole administration, that Denmark was changed into a sort of aristocratic republic. Christian's authority sank more and more in Sweden, too. On the other hand, he followed his uncle, in 1460, as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. The estates, however, did not recognize him until he had promised that their country should never be incorporated with Denmark except by a personal union. Notwithstanding, this important district henceforth followed in the wake of Danish politics. That enabled Christian I. to emancipate his kingdom gradually from the commercial predominance of the Hanseatic League as well as from its political tutelage.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOUTHEAST OF EUROPE FROM 1389 TO 1453.

THE bloody victory of Kosovo, in June, 1389, had at last cleared the way for the Turks to the middle course of the Danube. Even the violent death of the mighty sultan, Amurath, did not lessen the danger of an invasion ; for his son Bajazet carried out his father's plan energetically. He let his troops range far and wide, and thus incorporated province after province in his military state. Bajazet occupied Servia, plundered Bosnia, reduced Macedonia in part, and had his raiders ravage Albania and the Illyrian coast. Crossing the Danube, a part of the Ottoman army made Wallachia tributary. Moreover, the end of the Byzantine empire seemed imminent, as the family feuds of the Palaeologi offered the sultan a ready pretext for interference. Emperor John's son and grandson, Andronicus and John, were kept half-blinded in captivity to pave the way of the emperor's second son, Manuel, to the throne. But Andronicus and John escaped in 1390 and fled to Bajazet, who reinstated them in their rights. While they ruled, the elder John and Manuel were imprisoned. But they also escaped and were placed on the throne again by Bajazet. The elder John soon died. Manuel's rule extended scarcely beyond Constantinople, as his brother and nephew held the provinces. The latter set up a rival empire at Selymbria. By playing off one against the other and making as if he would support him, Bajazet held both in dependence. Large numbers of the Turks were already in Constantinople. Bajazet only tolerated a semblance of life in the empire to further his plans. He overthrew the Bulgarian insurgents and took the Danubian fortresses Widdin, Nicopolis, Silistria and others. Thence he scoured Hungary and Transylvania, while he conquered Macedonia and Thessaly. The sultan then passed through Thermopylae to Central Greece and the Peloponnesus, where the contending West European principalities soon succumbed to him. He took Argos by storm, and spread plunder and rapine to the southern coast of Laconia. At sea, Bajazet fought chiefly against the Knights

PLATE XIII



View of Rhodes in 1482

of St. John of Rhodes (PLATE XIII.¹), who supported by the sea-towns of the Mediterranean, fought with great bravery but unequal success for Christendom. Under the circumstances, only powerful concerted action could have averted the threatened blow from falling upon Europe.

The leading part in this fell to Hungary. It was fortunate that just at this time peace and unity had been restored in that country; for after the death of Louis the Great in 1382, the Hungarian crown had passed to his elder daughter, Maria. Until the celebration of her marriage with Sigismund, second son of Emperor Charles IV., the queen-mother, Elizabeth, was to be regent, according to Louis's testament. But that arrangement pleased no one. If the national party objected to the foreign alliance, it disliked no less the influence which the regent showered upon her favorite, Nicholas von Gara. Recourse was had once more to the Anjous, who had raised the political position of Hungary so much. The disaffected party offered the crown to Duke Charles the Small of Durazzo, who had recently been made king of Naples. He had taken vengeance on Queen Joanna for her husband's murder, but was again threatened by the papal court, to which Louis of Anjou was allied. In fact, he did succeed in getting the regent and Maria into his power and in having himself crowned in 1385 as Charles II.; but shortly after Nicholas von Gara overpowered him. He died a few days later in prison of the wounds he had received. Thereupon his adherents took to arms, seized Gara and his associates, and punished them terribly. The queen-dowager, Elizabeth, also suffered death at their hands. Queen Maria owed her deliverance to the interposition of the Venetians. She was married to Sigismund, who was crowned king of Hun-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

View of Rhodes, 1482.

In front we see the great harbor, protected by two moles; the thirteen windmills on the left mole were erected by Genoese prisoners; at the extreme left is the Castle of St. Peter, opposite which stands the Tower of Naillac; a strong chain between them closes the inner harbor, where a merchant ship is unloading. A galley, flying as its flag the Venetian Lion of St. Mark, in the left foreground, is headed for the smaller harbor, which lies behind the Tower of St. Nicholas. This tower was the centre of the Turkish attack in 1480; it was erected in 1464, Philip IV. of Burgundy contributing 12,000 gulden for the purpose. In the smaller harbor is the hull of a ship in process of construction. To the right of the Tower of Naillac is the gate of St. Catharine, and the church of St. Catharine, serving alike as church and fortification, crowned with battlements. Here and there the battlements of the city walls and of the church are in groups of three—a feature of Saracenic origin, wherein alone this Rhodian architecture differs from similar works in Europe. At the right of the centre of the picture rises the Tower of the Knights of St. John. On a point of land at the left of the centre is the gallows for malefactors. The fortified places on the docks and moles are designed in large part as protection against the sudden and very frequent attacks of corsairs.

gary in 1387 at Stuhlweissenburg. But he soon raised new enemies by his attempts to increase his prerogative. Besides, his position grew worse when his queen died without issue, for thereupon both Wladislaw II. of Poland, as the spouse of Maria's sister, and King Ladislaus of Naples, as a descendant of the house of Arpad, raised claims to the Hungarian crown. But all such dangers lost their force in view of the Turkish invasion.

Sigismund had to look around for help. He turned first to Charles VI. of France. Here the nobility were favorably inclined, especially as the project of defence appealed strongly to Marshal Boucicault. In spite of the sorry state of affairs at home, a considerable French army assembled for the fight on the Danube. The Count of Nevers led 10,000 knights, with as many squires and 6000 mercenaries, to the scene of war. Here they joined forces with Sigismund's troops and the German ones under Frederick of Hohenzollern. The united army of 100,000 was further reinforced by troops from Wallachia and the contingent of the Knights of St. John under their Grand Master, Philip de Naillac. The progress of the campaign revealed the customary ruinous over-confidence of the French knights. Moreover, the loose life of the army on the march and its disorderliness in camp were but a poor preparation for the forthcoming struggle. Their first successes, however, only confirmed the army in its thoughtless self-confidence. But after the capture of Orsova, Widdin and some other fortresses, the army met with serious resistance before Nicopolis. The lack of appliances for the siege protracted it unexpectedly. But even the news of the Turkish approach made no impression on the besiegers. Sure of victory, they offered battle to the terrible foe as it approached their camp. The French knights persisted in taking a position where Sigismund, who knew Turkish warfare, wished to place the Hungarian light cavalry and foot-soldiers. That mistake proved fatal, for when the French knights, on September 28, 1396, broke through the Turkish van by sheer force, they were exhausted when they came upon Bajazet and the pick of his army, which was still fresh. The French had to turn suddenly, but their tired horses could not carry them out of reach of the pursuing Turks, who massacred them mercilessly. That decided the day. The Wallachians and Hungarians on the flanks retreated; consequently, the full force of the attack of the Janizaries and Spahis fell upon the centre, where Sigismund still held out, which finally wavered and fled in confusion. No less than 12,000 Christians, among them the flower of French, German, and Hungarian chivalry, covered the field. Great numbers were drowned in the Danube, and Sigismund and Frederick of Hohen-

zollern had a narrow escape. Sailing down the Danube to its outlet, the fleet of the Venetians and the Knights of St. John carried Sigismund to Constantinople. Thence he reached Hungary by way of Dalmatia. Among the prisoners of the Turks were the Duke of Nevers and Marshal Boucicault. The Turks took them to Brusa, where they were released after the arrival of their ransoms. But the Turks had paid dearly for their victory. Furious at his loss, Bajazet had 2000 Christians cut down on the battlefield.

Europe anxiously expected the march of the Turks to the northwest. But Bajazet was content with the complete conquest of Bosnia, the occupation of the bridges across the Danube, and a few incursions beyond it. He wished to conquer the remnant of the Byzantine empire first. Regardless of the imminent peril, Emperor Manuel rejected the alluring offers of Bajazet to abdicate willingly. No more did his nephew, John, accede to this proposal. On the contrary, he agreed to represent his uncle while the latter hurried to Italy and the west to gather a crusading army for the defence of Constantinople. Meanwhile, the fall of the petty empire on the Bosphorus seemed at hand, when it was unexpectedly averted by the terrible incursion of the Mongols.

These barbarians had started once more on an unparalleled career of conquest, which threatened both Turk and Christian with destruction. Under their khan Timur-Leng (Tamerlane), "Timur the Lame" (1333-1405), the warlike Mongolian nomads subjugated the greater part of Asia. At first they overthrew Persia, which was henceforth ruled by vassals who paid tribute to the khan. The Caucasian districts and Armenia and Mesopotamia met the same fate. Insurrections only led to massacres and the destruction of many flourishing towns. In like manner Tamerlane chastised the desertion of the Mongolian princes whom he had appointed, notably Toktamish, after whose flight in 1399, Tamerlane carried the horrors of Mongol warfare to the very walls of Moscow. Thereupon the conqueror subjugated southern Persia, the lands on the Tigris, and Bagdad. After a long rest, he turned to the beautifully situated Samarcand. Thither he carried not only his enormous booty, but also the best artists and mechanics, that they might beautify his capital. Moreover, Tamerlane delighted in playing the patron of scholars and poets of all nationalities.

After Tamerlane had entrusted the government of the four divisions of his empire to his four sons, he advanced to the east to subjugate India. Having conquered the valley of the Indus, and the Panjab, he crossed to Delhi to dethrone Sultan Mahmud. After having defeated him in

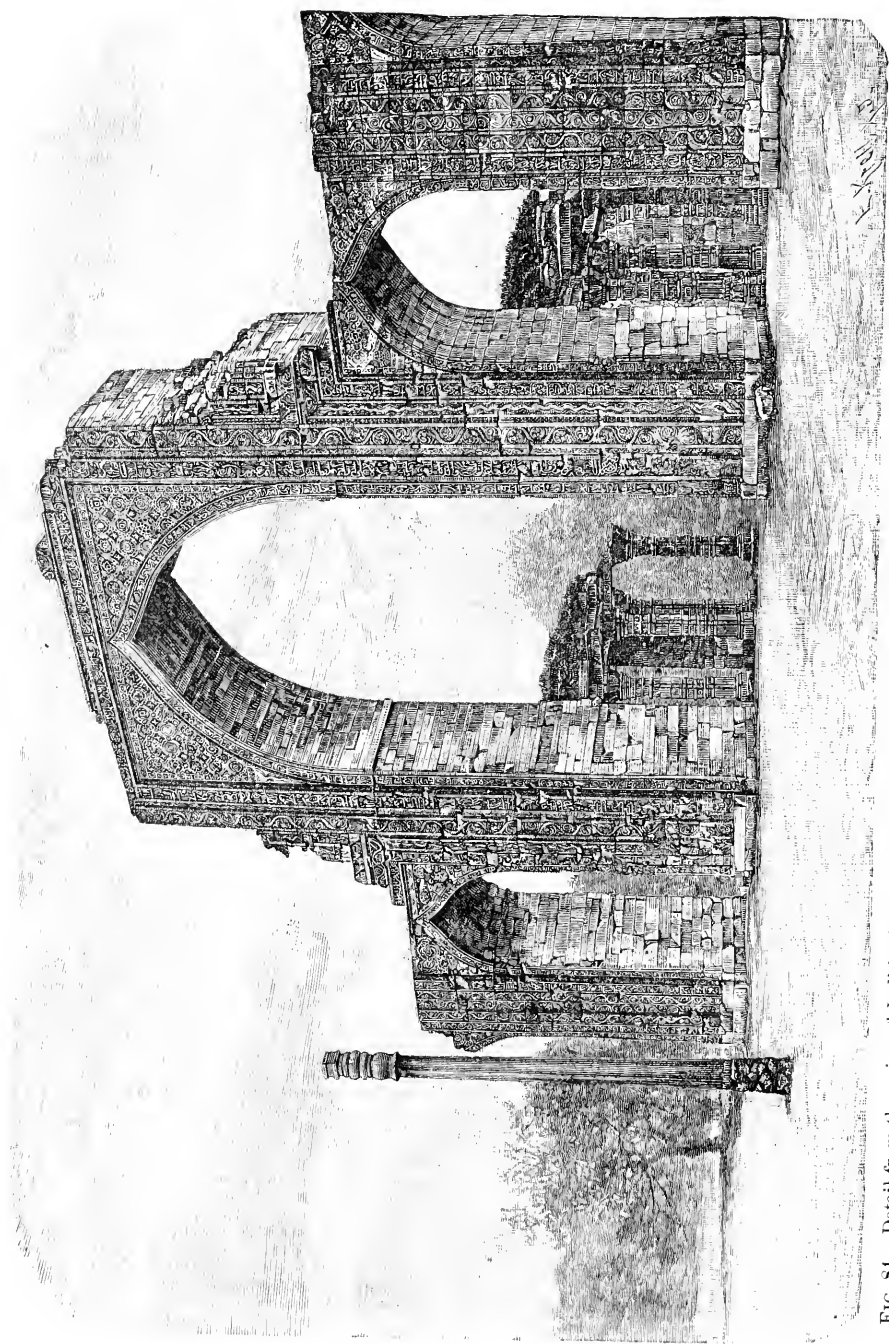
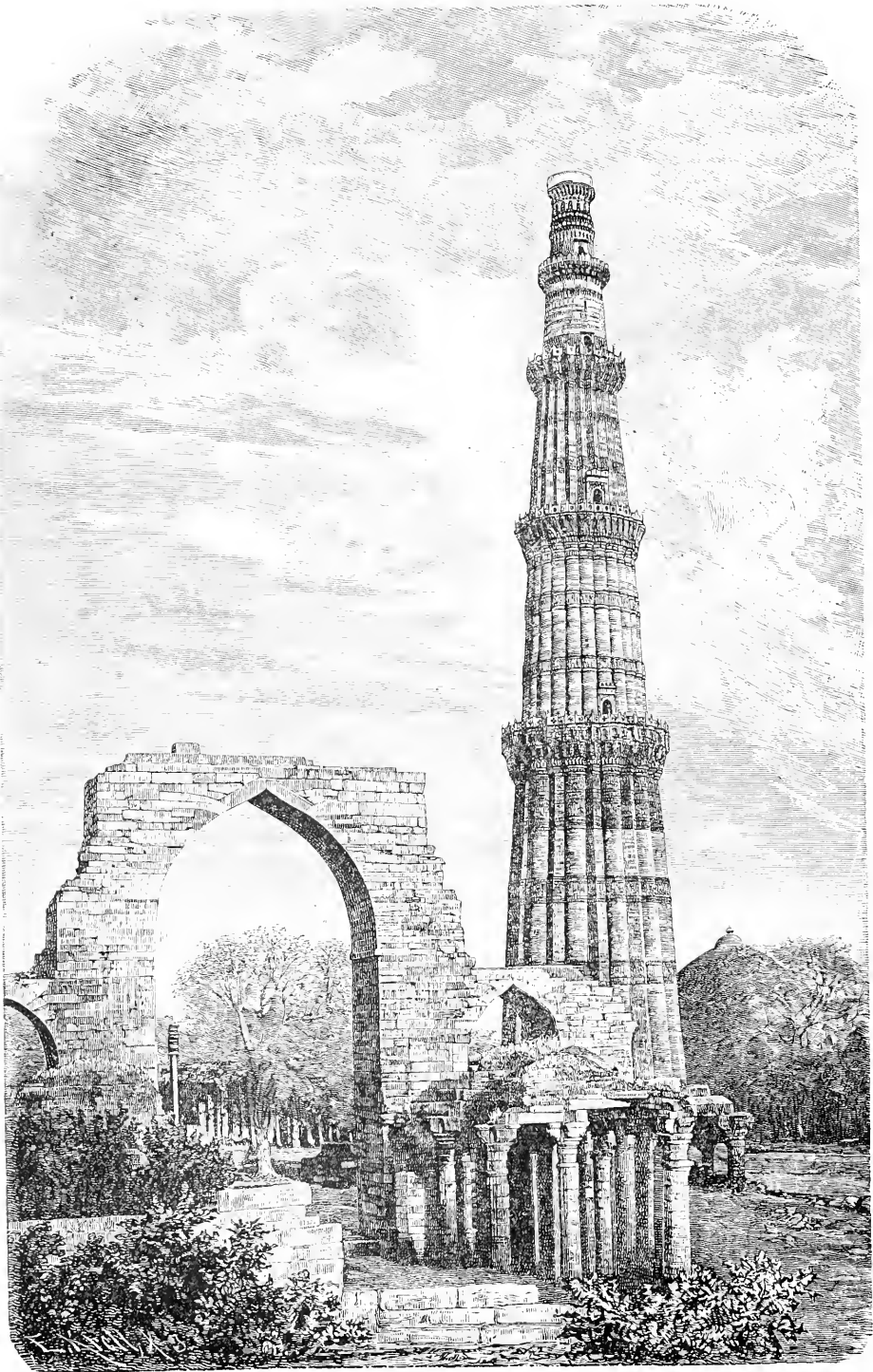


FIG. 84.—Detail from the ruins of Delhi. Facade of the minaret of Kotb-ed-din Ibbek, Turkish Emir, afterward Sultan of Delhi; died 1210.

PLATE XIV.



Detail of the ruins of Delhi: Minaret of Koth ed-din Eibek, Turkish Emir, later Sultan of Delhi, who died in 1210.

The minaret was built in 1206 and is 215 feet high.

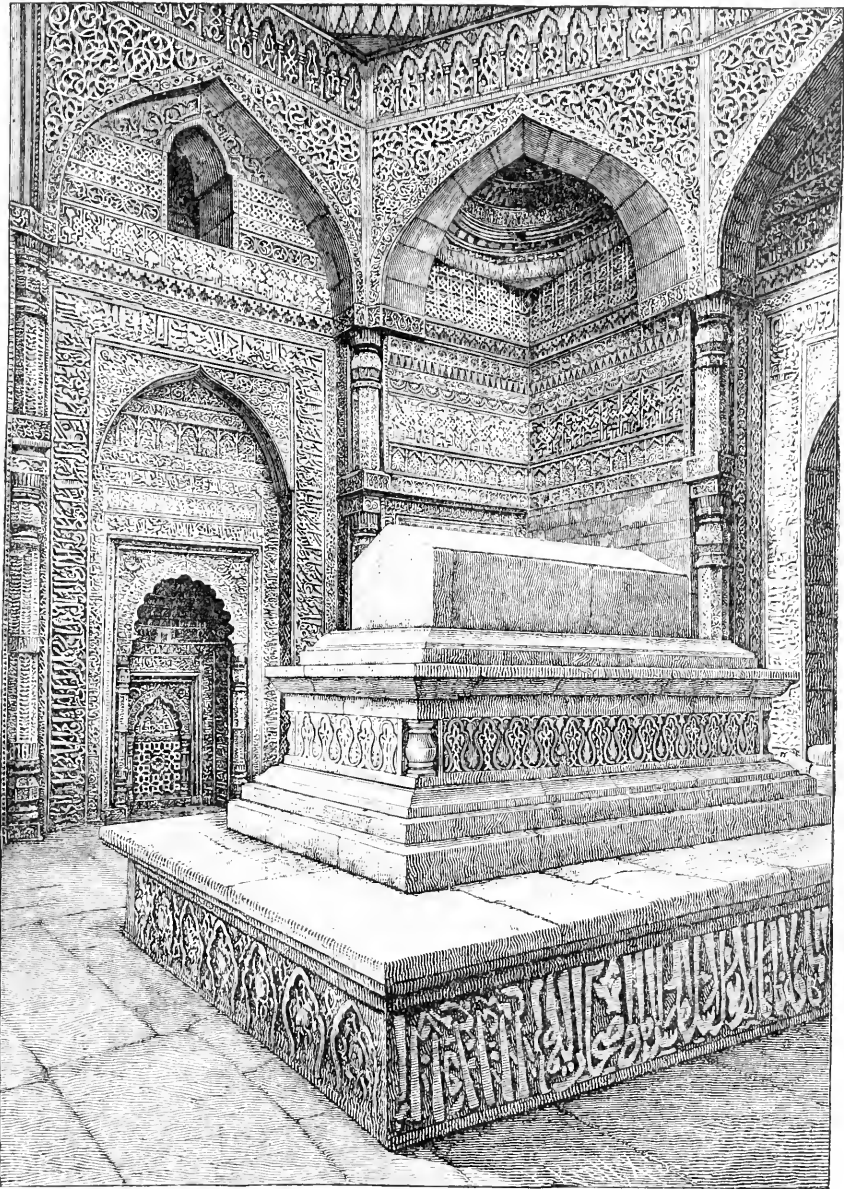


FIG. 85.—Detail from the ruins of Delhi. Tomb of the former Turkish slave, Altymish, ruler in India 1210-1236.

battle, he plundered Delhi (PLATE XIV.; Figs. 85, 86). He ruthlessly massacred its inhabitants, who had set fire to their city. Tamerlane pursued the fleeing army to the upper course of the Ganges. Then he

appointed Mongol vassal princes to rule over India, and returned to Samareand with untold treasures. On his return thither he reduced the Georgians, who had fallen off from him.

It was inevitable that the Mongol and Turkish powers should collide. Bajazet had used Tamerlane's absence in the east to consolidate his power. But two such mighty empires could not exist side by side. After long and vain negotiations the war broke out. Their common enemy, the Christians, and their dependent vassals gained most by it. Bajazet raised the siege of Constantinople to meet Tamerlane in Syria. For the present Europe was saved.

In 1401 Tamerlane appeared in Armenia, which Bajazet's son, Ertoghrlul, had conquered. Sivas soon fell into his power. In the ensuing massacre Ertoghrlul was killed. Marching southward, Tamerlane took terrible revenge on the Egyptian Mameluke sultan for the imprisonment of his ambassadors. At Haleb he utterly routed the sultan and turned the city into a waste. Then the Mongol army pursued the enemy to Damascus. A second victory won the splendid capital of the califate. In spite of the enormous sums paid Tamerlane to spare the city, it was burnt to the ground. The Mongols murdered everybody except the skilled artisans, scholars, and artists, who were transported to Samareand. Shortly after, the Mongols took Bagdad, and levelled it with the ground, excepting only the mosques and the adjoining schools and hospitals. Barring priests and scholars, who alone escaped death, 90,000 inhabitants are said to have been slaughtered.

During these events negotiations between Tamerlane and Bajazet continued. In February, 1402, the former turned on Armenia, and marched thence to the highlands of Anatolia. The Turkish army stood on the plain of Angora. In view of its exhaustion, his captains advised the sultan to refrain from battle. But Bajazet despised their counsels. On July 20, 1402, the two nations fought a tremendous battle, which was to decide the fate of the Orient. Although they had the advantage at first, the Turkish ranks were shaken by the desertion of the sultan's tributary peoples, and soon took to flight. At last Bajazet had to flee, too, but was torn from his horse and made captive, with his son Musa and many other leaders. It seemed as if the downfall of the Turkish rule in Asia Minor was to be the immediate result of this catastrophe. The Mongols carried fire and sword everywhere. They reduced the ancient Greek monuments along the west coast to heaps of ruins. The vassals whom Bajazet had dethroned returned to power as the dependants of the khan. At first, Tamerlane held the sultan in honorable captivity, but he made it very strict after the discovery of a conspiracy for

his delivery. Bajazet died nine months after the defeat at Angora. His body was buried in Brusa by the side of his predecessors.

The news of the victory at Angora filled the west with fear and trembling. Fawning embassies came to Tamerlane with presents, while Constantinople, Adrianople, and Cairo paid him tribute. Well satisfied, the conqueror returned to Samarcand. It was now the capital of an empire reaching from the western boundary of China to the Aegean Sea, and from the Nile far into Russia. The city itself was adorned with palaces and gardens, filled with the treasures of the world. Still, in spite of his success and age, Tamerlane could not bear inactivity. He was soon on the march to China to subject it to Islam. But on the way he died, in February, 1405, at the age of seventy. His wonderful activity had no lasting results. Immense human sacrifice, and savage destruction had been the outcome of his mighty spirit. Like the creation of his predecessor Temuchin, the great Jenghiz Khan, the empire of Tamerlane soon fell to pieces. While the descendants of his vassal-princes continued to rule in India as Great Moguls, new dynasties came into power in the Caspian steppes, Persia, and the lands beyond the Oxus. In Western Asia the house of Bajazet arose, after changeful conflicts, to new power. Thus the sultan's successor could soon pick up the thread of conquest where it had been severed by Tamerlane (cf. Fig. 86).

Bajazet left four sons. Solyman, the oldest, whom his father had made ruler of his European provinces, remained unmolested by the Mongols in Adrianople. Mohammed in the northwest maintained his independence at Amasia even after the day of Angora. Musa at Kutahia and Isa at Brusa ruled as the vassals of the khan. While Tamerlane was still alive, Mohammed, who had again subjugated the Seljuk princes, waged war with his brother, Isa. The latter was defeated, and had to seek refuge with Solyman in Adrianople. His brother put him into a position to try to reconquer his realm and capital, Brusa, where Mohammed then lived. But his attempt failed. Isa found an unknown death as a landless fugitive. Thereupon, Solyman won over the Byzantine emperor by releasing him from the customary tribute and giving him back a part of his European possessions. Moreover, he made a family alliance with the emperor's house. Then he crossed to Asia Minor in 1404, took Brusa and Angora and made himself master of the whole coast in 1406, while Mohammed had to withdraw to the eastern provinces. But Solyman was soon forced to return to Europe by a rising which his brother, Musa, had instigated in Rumelia, and which the Wallachians joined. He overthrew it with ease. Then, however, Solyman gave himself up to idle debauchery in Adrianople, and held the dis-

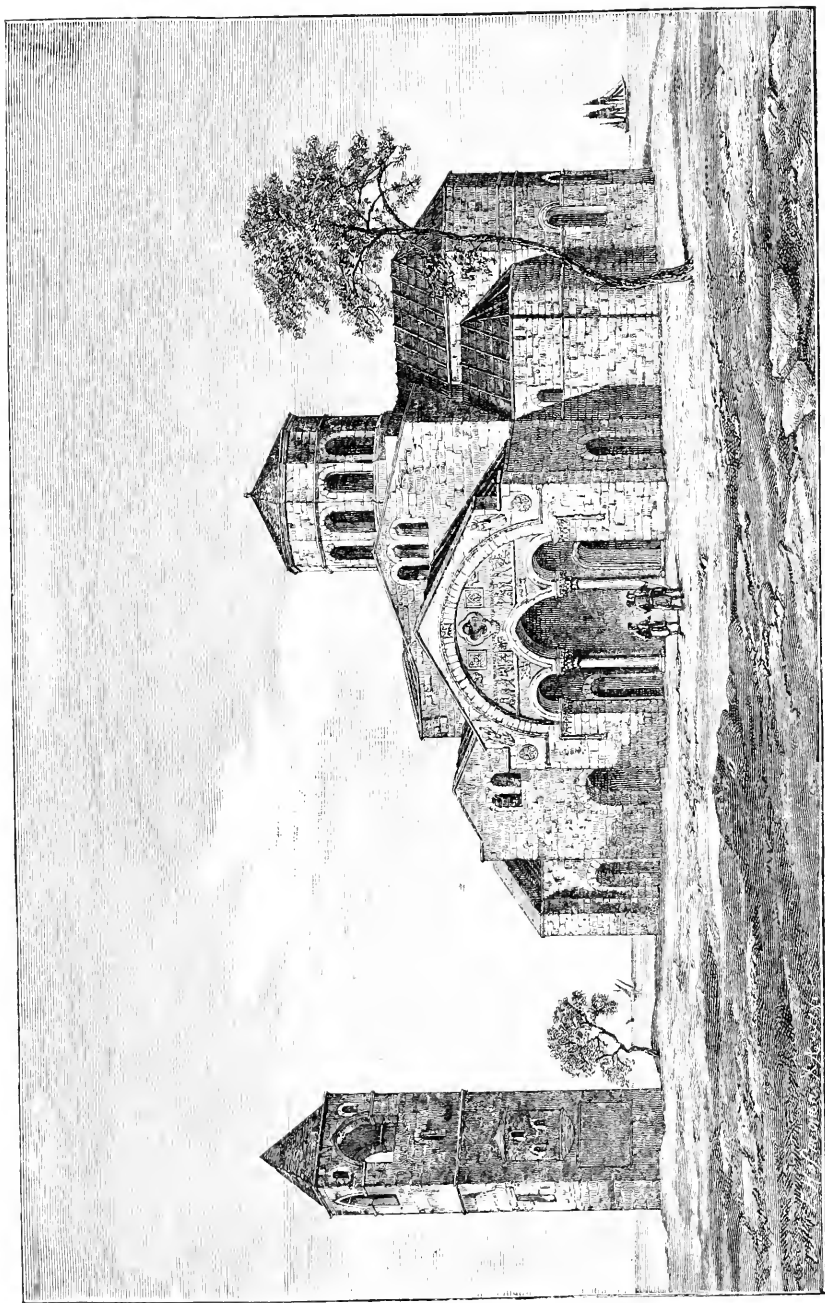


FIG. 86.—View of St. Sophia in Trebizond. (Texier and Pullan, Byzant. Arch.)

contented nobles and generals down by a rule of terror. A conspiracy was formed, in which the fugitive Musa took part. In the spring of 1410 the conspirators seized Solyman and led him to Constantinople. But on the way he and his escort were murdered by Thracian peasants, while Musa was saluted as ruler in Adrianople. The Asiatic provinces again recognized Mohammed, who took his seat at Brusa. But the two brothers could not live in peace. Musa paved the way for his own fall by his unbearable tyranny. The disaffected came to a secret understanding with Mohammed, and mediated a league between him and Manuel of Constantinople for a common attack on Musa. Greek ships brought Mohammed to the European coast. But the unexpected attack of Musa defeated the allies in 1412, under the walls of Adrianople, so completely that his brother barely escaped to Asia Minor. The next year, however, he appeared again and turned northward. A battle took place near Sofia on July 10, 1413. Surrounded by treachery, Musa was overpowered by the enemy. He was taken on his flight and throttled at the command of Mohammed. Thus, after ten years of fratricidal war, the unity of the Turkish rule was re-established.

No doubt the Christian princes of Europe made a fatal mistake in not utilizing these quarrels for a common attempt to throw the invaders back on Asia. The blindness of Emperor Manuel is especially blamable. Thus the favorable opportunity was lost, never to return again. True, the internal condition of the states most concerned was not particularly favorable at the time for such an undertaking. In Hungary the absolutism of Sigismund and his bloody persecution of the adherents of his quondam anti-king, Ladislaus, had led to a conspiracy for his overthrow. Early in 1401 the conspirators took him by surprise in Buda and brought him to Wissegrad. But the factions could not unite on his successor. Consequently, they made a compromise, which left Sigismund his crown. When Ladislaus, notwithstanding, appeared in Dalmatia and was there proclaimed king, he won only a small following. Sigismund drew even this off by proclaiming a general amnesty in case those who had risen for the Anjou should lay down their arms within a given time. Thus, in 1403, Hungary finally returned to peace.

Sigismund had learned a lesson, and henceforth ruled energetically and faithfully. His meritorious innovations won the confidence even of his former enemies. With the organizing talent peculiar to the house of Luxemburg, he created a new constitution for Hungary, which was as favorable to the development of national life as to the authority of the king. Its basis was popular representation. Besides the prelates and nobility, Sigismund in 1405 granted the chartered cities, whose number

he greatly increased, the right of regular representation at the diets. Thereby he won a firm support in the citizen class. The gentry, which was also represented, likewise stood by the king. With its help alone the king could check the predominance of the magnates. In alliance with these estates Sigismund succeeded in raising the necessary supplies to renew and strengthen the national army for defence against sudden Turkish inroads. While the magnates and their retainers still fought under their own banners, the lower nobility or gentry fought directly under the king. The warlike spirit of the Magyars soon turned this part of the troops into a sort of standing army, which won undying fame in fighting the Turks. In time even the peasantry was formed into a militia to be called out in the event of an invasion. Thus Hungary was preserved from the exaggeration of the aristocratic governmental principle, which was the ruin of Poland. Sigismund also devoted himself to the administration and judiciary. He called a class of judges, known as *Stuhlrichter*, into being. They were elected yearly by the nobility in every county, and were empowered to decide on every breach of the peace in co-operation with the burgraves, whom the king appointed. Thus Sigismund became for Hungary what his father had been for Bohemia, the founder of a new era. After the death of Queen Maria of Hungary, Sigismund married Barbara, of the house of Cilli. Thereby he bound a large part of the magnates more closely to his dynasty. As a result, he met no opposition when he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to Duke Albert of Austria, and designated him as his successor.

Consolidated within, Hungary's power rose without through Sigismund's skilful management of the German royal office, which fell to him in 1410. The Venetian war ended, after Sigismund's invasion of the territory of Venice, in a peace mediated by the pope. It left the important coast of Dalmatia to Hungary, which likewise received an indemnity. Nevertheless, Sigismund no more took advantage of the disturbances in the Turkish empire than the other western princes. For Christendom was just then taken up with the Great Schism of the Roman church. Besides, the outbreaks of the Hussite wars only added to the general preoccupation.

All these events concurred in giving Sultan Mohammed a term of peace, during which his empire could recuperate. He shrewdly kept up good relations with the Byzantine empire, and allowed the surrender of Thessalonica to Venice. He also returned to Emperor Manuel the districts which Musa had torn from him. The Greek emperors once more enjoyed a period of comparative peace and good fortune which made

them blind to the threatening danger. Mohammed was shrewd enough to grant the other princes of the Balkan peninsula and the Lower Danube greater freedom. He seemed almost to have given up his schemes of conquest. Unimpeded, he restored his rule in Asia Minor. He took up his old plan of building up a navy, which brought him into collision with the Venetians in the Aegean (Fig. 87). In spite of Admiral Pietro

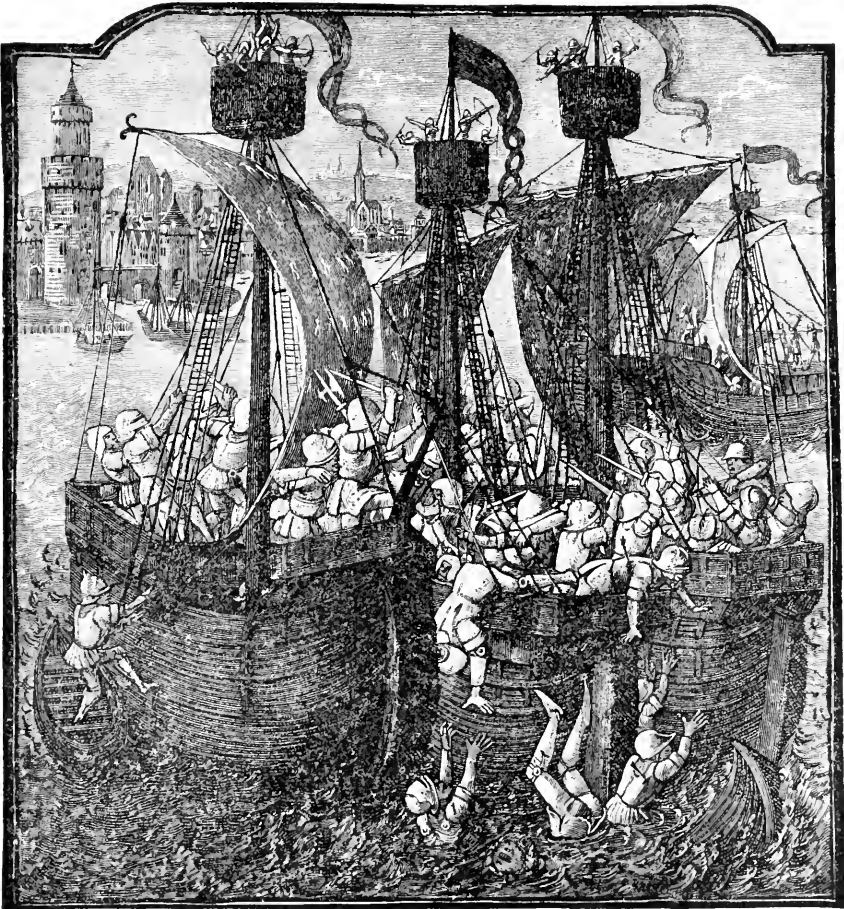


FIG. 87.—Naval battle. Miniature of the fifteenth century. (Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.)

Loredano's victory at Gallipoli, on May 29, 1419, the war led to no decisive results, except the rise of the Venetian power in the east, and its greater authority in the councils of the Christian nations. The peace freed the sultan's hand to crush the revolt of his dependent princes on

the Danube. He succeeded in bringing the Prince of Wallachia under his rule again. Finally, he overthrew the insurrection on the Danube, which was led by an impostor who claimed to be a brother of Mohammed, Mustafa. The adventurer escaped from a siege and fled to Constantinople. Emperor Manuel refused to surrender him and was content with secluding him on Lemnos. This occurrence might have led to war had not Mohammed died, in 1421, in consequence of a fall from his horse.

His son Amurath II. (1421-1451) followed him. Manuel (PLATE XV.¹) raised absurd claims against him. He ordered him to send his younger brothers to be educated at Constantinople. The strained relations which Amurath's refusal caused led Manuel into a fatal error. He recognized the pseudo-Mustafa at Lemnos as the lawful sultan. The latter gathered troops and took Adrianople. Then he captured Gallipoli, but broke his promise by not giving it back to the Greeks. In 1422 he crossed to Asia but was there deserted by a part of his troops. As he was threatened by a plot, he returned to Gallipoli. When Amurath II., with the help of the Genoese fleet, wanted to attack him, the pseudo-Mustafa fled to Adrianople; but Amurath's horsemen followed him. They took him on his flight northward, and delivered him to the executioner. Then Amurath hastened to chastise the faithless Byzantines. In the summer of 1422, the Turks appeared before Constantinople, where the fear and excitement of the furious mob took bloody vengeance on the supposed traitors. After ruthlessly wasting the surrounding country, Amurath began the siege. The assault he made on August 24 was beaten back by the Greeks. Soon after, Amurath had to return to Asia to crush another uprising; for his younger brother, Mustafa, had had himself proclaimed sultan, and found acceptance in Nice. Amurath overpowered him and had him executed. The powerless Byzantines now hastened to avert the impending blow by surrendering the cities on the Strymon and the Black Sea. Apart from a few Peloponnesian cities which still obeyed John VIII. (1425-1448), the empire was henceforth restricted to the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople. Its last lease of life

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XV.

Byzantine miniature of the fifteenth century. Paris, Louvre. (From Labarte.)

The manuscript from which this miniature is taken contains the writings ascribed to St. Dionysius (St. Denis), and was presented to the Abbot of St. Denis, near Paris, in 1408, by Manuel, in token of gratitude for his reception at the abbey, in March, 1401, when he visited it with Charles VI., whose aid he was at that time seeking against the Turks. The figures are Manuel and his queen; at his right his oldest son, Prince John; between him and Helena his sons Theodorus and Andronicus. The figures are standing upon low three-legged stools, their feet concealed under their garments. In the upper field the Virgin and Child, with hands outstretched in blessing. This miniature shows the low state of Byzantine art at the time of the Palaeologi. The original is 10½ in. long by 7½ in. wide.



Emperor Manuel Palaeologus, his Empress Helena and their Children.

Byzantine miniature of the fifteenth century. Paris, Louvre.

was due to the sultan's occupation in a Venetian war. During its course Amurath conquered Thessalonica in 1430, which became an important base of operations for further conquests to the south and west. Amurath presently made Epirus and Aearnania tributary, and pillaged Albania.

The last act threatened Hungary anew. The death of Sigismund, in 1437, seemed to promise an easy victory for Amurath II. He subjugated Wallachia more thoroughly so that it might serve as a base of operations for the war beyond the Danube. The important Servian fortress, Semendria, also fell into his hands. After a victory over the Hungarian king, Albert of Austria, the whole of Servia fell into the sultan's power, and Bosnia was forced to pay tribute. The death of Albert, and the confusion which followed it in Hungary, gave the conqueror free scope for his plans. The majority of the Hungarian magnates set up Wladislaw III. of Poland as king, against Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus, who was crowned king in 1440. While the Polish king was crowned the same year at Buda, Albert's widow, Elizabeth, fled to Austria with her child. The help of Frederick III. of Austria, enabled her adherents to carry on the struggle against the Polish pretender. However, he was finally victorious, when Elizabeth died, in 1442. Besides, the approaching Turkish scourge warned all parties to unite for defence; for Amurath had used the very beginning of the Hungarian war of succession to attack Belgrade, though he had been forced to withdraw. Wladislaw III. conferred the command of the Turkish campaign on János Hunyady, who had been very serviceable at his coronation. He was an excellent soldier and the real soul of the Hungarian-Polish wars against the Turks. While the sultan's ambassadors demanded the surrender of Belgrade from Wladislaw III., two Turkish armies broke into Transylvania and Lower Hungary in 1441. But Hunyady defeated them at St. Emerich and forced them to retreat across the Danube; in 1442, he drove back another invasion by his glorious victory at Vasap.

Meanwhile, the great deeds of the Hungarian leader produced a change of attitude in the Greeks to the west. Repeatedly the court had discussed the question of making their cause a universal one by reuniting their church with the Roman Catholic. Preliminary negotiations had already taken place. Greek ambassadors had appeared at the Council of Constance. Emperor Manuel had shown a certain zeal in the cause of union, but chiefly from political motives. Now John VIII. (Figs. 88 and 89) returned to the matter with the honest purpose of bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion. The emperor himself and a large retinue of clerics and theologians sailed to Venice, in 1438. Thence they went to Ferrara, where the anti-council of Eugenius IV. was sitting.

But here no conclusion was reached. In Florence, however, whither the pope transferred the council on account of pestilence, the cause of union was furthered somewhat. Still, the nature of the case excluded a real understanding. The best that could be done was to set up a theological formula, which gave at least the appearance of unity by the scope it left for individual interpretation. On July 6, 1439, the solemn conclusion of the negotiations took place in the cathedral of Florence. In the



FIG. 88.—Copper medal of John VIII. Palaeologus, made by the Florentine artist, Vittore Pisano (1380–1455). (Berlin.) Legend, translated: "John, king and emperor of the Romans, the Palaeologus."

presence of Emperor John VIII. and Pope Eugenius IV., a formula agreed upon by the dignitaries of both churches was read in Greek and Latin and signed by all present. Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, alone objected to it. On his return to Constantinople, he found the zealous support of the fanatic population. Consequently, the compromise was not acknowledged and had no effect.

Nevertheless, the cause of the Byzantines had been made that of Christendom. The crusading sermons of Eugenius IV. really brought together a cosmopolitan army. Led by Wladislaw III. of Hungary and Poland, and by János Hunyady, the army crossed the Danube in January, 1443, reached Sofia by forced marches, and burned it. Then it surprised a Turkish army at Nish and defeated it. Encouraged thereby, and strengthened by reinforcements, the crusaders resolved to march on



FIG. 89.—Reverse of the above medal. Legend: OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS; the same in Greek. The medal was made in 1439, when the emperor was in Florence. It represents the emperor on horseback, in a wild landscape, praying before a roadside crucifix.

Philippopolis. They climbed the snow-covered Balkans with great difficulty, and gained a victory, near Mount Kunowitza, over the sultan's brother-in-law. But they could not brave the elements and the obstinate resistance of the Turks, and had to return to Belgrade. Nevertheless, this campaign raised the energy and confidence of the Christians. Its results weighed heavily on Amurath II. He agreed to nego-

tiations for peace, which led, in July, 1444, to the treaty of Szegedin. It made the Danube the boundary between Hungary and Turkey, and gave Semendria and other fortresses back to the Servians. Moreover, it placed Wallachia, although it was still to pay tribute to the sultan, under the protection of Hungary. Thereupon Amurath II. abdicated in favor of his second surviving son, the fourteen-year-old Mohammed.

The treaty of Szegedin displeased the Christian zealots. Cardinal Julian, the papal leader of the crusade, considered it treachery to the cause. He easily convinced the warlike Wladislaw III. of this, who was anxious, besides, to find a vent for the mettle of his nobility. Hunyady resisted all attempts to break the peace. But the prospect of receiving Bulgaria as an independent principality after a successful campaign, overcame his scruples. George of Servia likewise gave way at last to the general pressure. A Venetian fleet had already appeared in Greek waters at the order of the pope, to support the crusaders and divide the forces of the Turks. But bitter disappointment awaited all.

Many of Hunyady's troops had returned home after the peace. Various disputes kept many princes away. Frederick III., especially, and the German empire remained inactive. In October the Christian army marched with only 30,000 men from Orsova to Widdin. The object of the expedition was to march to the Black Sea, and then to clear the way along its coast to Adrianople. From that point the army proposed, conjointly with the Byzantines and Venetians, to sever the Turkish communication between Europe and Asia by taking Gallipoli. The Christians thought themselves secure from the intervention of Amurath II. But they were deceived. When they had broken into Bulgaria, Mohammed had turned to his father for help. The Genoese fleet carried Amurath over the Hellespont. Then he marched northward until he met the Christians near Varna, in a position favored by nature. This would have secured them against every attack if they had waited for reinforcements. But the urgency of Hunyady, who commanded in the illness of Wladislaw, decided the troops to offer a pitched battle. The Hungarians and Poles put the Turkish van to flight; but the attack of Wladislaw on the Janizaries, whom Amurath himself led, failed. The Polish king fell in the assault, which, of course, threw his ranks into confusion. The Christian army soon turned in headlong flight. The battle of Varna, on November 10, 1444, ended in a terrible massacre of the Christians. The flower of the Polish and Hungarian nobility fell, not to speak of many ecclesiastical dignitaries and Cardinal Julian. The Turks took enormous booty, but had to pay dearly for their victory. Hunyady returned to Hungary with the sorry remnants of his host.

In face of this terrible calamity, party strife ceased in Hungary. Ladislaus Posthumus found general recognition, while the regency passed to the brave János Hunyady. While the Turks were engaged by George Castriota, an Albanian hero, and Amurath II. subjugated the Peloponnesus, Hunyady was restlessly active in collecting an army. With the aid of Pope Nicholas V. he tried once more to gather Western Christendom under the banner of the Cross; but he had little success, and finally had to rely on his Hungarians alone. After having punished Wallachia for her desertion, and wasted Servia for refusing assistance, he came upon the enemy at Kosovo, in October, 1448. The terrible contest raged for three days. The mailed Christian knights had the advantage for two days; but they finally succumbed again to the Turks, through the treacherous desertion of the Wallachians. Again, Hunyady returned to Hungary with a handful of men. But the Turks had also suffered such losses that Amurath II. could not take advantage of his victory. Moreover, the brilliant successes of Castriota called him to the south. There fortune deserted the sultan. The bold Albanian held out in his fortress at Kroia, and was praised everywhere by the Christians. Indeed, they did not think it was necessary to exert themselves while war lasted in Albania and Epirus. Besides, Hunyady had been shut up in Semendria by the Servians on his return. They released him after he had promised them a large ransom and made other concessions. The pope released him from his obligations, to be sure, but military operations ceased in Hungary in consequence of this episode.

Meanwhile, Amurath II. died early in 1451. But his son, Mohammed II., as yet untried, and evidently considered incapable by the princes at court, soon showed his determination to crush the opposition and win the favor of his people by new exploits. He had his brother Achmet choked to death. He was milder toward the vassal-princes than his father had been, and sought to attract them by lightening the burdens which rested on them and on their peoples. He made a truce with Hungary, and entered into friendly relations with the Byzantine empire.

There Constantine IX. (1448-1453) had succeeded, with the consent of Amurath II. He had raised an independent principality in the Peloponnesus, which he held under Turkish over-lordship. Mohammed also exchanged friendly declarations with him. Thus the crisis, which the Turkish succession had threatened in Adrianople, passed without disturbance; consequently the sultan could cross to Asia and choke the rising in Karamania. Incurable in their blindness, the Byzantines thought they could utilize Mohammed's momentary embarrassment. They demanded an increase in the sum paid them by the sultan for

detaining Orkhan, the last scion of the house of Osman. If the additional money was not paid they threatened to release him. This foolish challenge decided the sultan to put an end to the feeble empire as soon as possible.

When he had returned from Asia Minor in 1452, Mohammed II. (Fig. 90) built a fortress close to Constantinople on the heights above the Bosphorus. This commanded the Black Sea, so that he could at any



FIG. 90.—Medallion with bust of Sultan Mohammed II. Made by the Florentine sculptor Bertoldo, who flourished about 1460. Legend: MAVMHET ASIE AC TRAPESVNZIS MAGNE QVE GRETIE IMPERAT; "Mohammed, emperor of Asia and Trebizond and of Magna Graecia." Original size. (Berlin.)

time cut off supplies from Constantinople and starve it out. The distressed cries of the inhabitants, and the prayers and promises of tribute on their part found no ear. Thereupon the emperor resolved at least on manly resistance. He hastened to strengthen the fortifications of the city. The port was closed by a heavy chain. Constantine called upon his relatives and fellow-countrymen in the Peloponnesus; but as they were attacked from the Thessalian side at the sultan's order, they could do nothing. Moreover, the beseeching embassies which the emperor sent to the European courts failed of their object. Meanwhile, in the

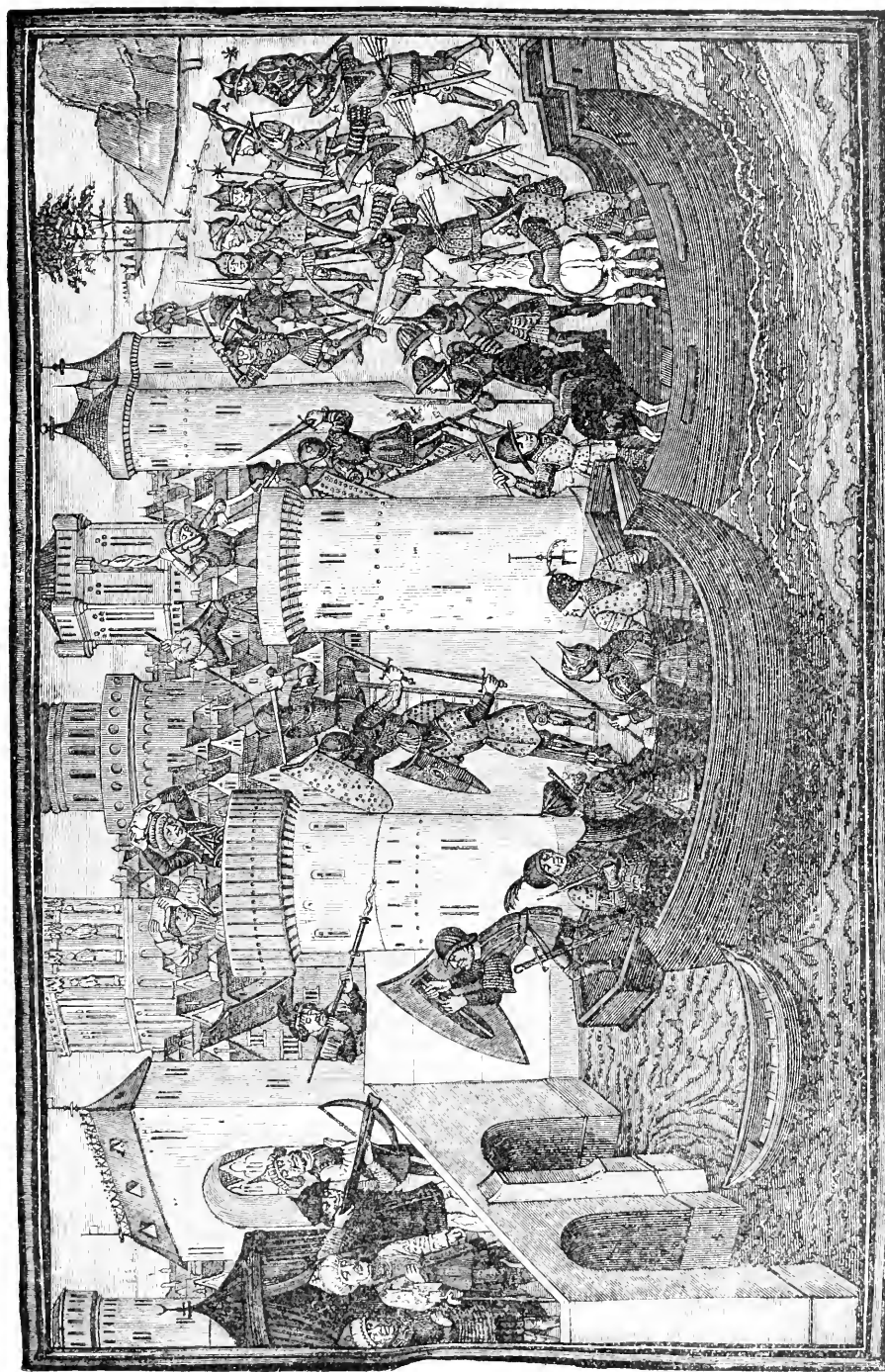


FIG. 91.—Scene from the Capture of Constantinople. Miniature in a manuscript written in 1462 at the order of Louis XI. of France. (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'arsenal.)

spring of 1453, Mohammed began the fateful siege of Constantinople. The city soon suffered severely from the enemy's fire. A fleet of more than one hundred ships tried to force an entrance into the harbor. The defenders had scarcely 10,000 men, which was by no means enough to cover the long line of fortifications, but they did wonders in throwing off repeated assaults, closing the breaches, and supporting the tumbling walls and turrets. The feeling that the world was looking on and that the fate of one of the first cities in Christendom depended on them, increased the courage of the inhabitants of Constantinople. But the besiegers were actuated by like motives, as the triumph of Islam hung in the balance.

Gradually the prospects of the defenders grew worse. At a great expense of human life and with the aid of clever mechanical contrivances, Mohammed succeeded in transferring a part of his fleet from the Bosphorus to the suburb of Galata, which lies opposite Constantinople in the furthest corner of the Golden Horn. This enabled the sultan to make a naval attack from two sides. The besieged began to waver, especially as rations grew short, and the rabble, anticipating their fate, were filled with a restless ferment. Consequently, after a siege of six weeks, the sultan thought it was time to make a general assault. After Constantine IX. had refused his terms of capitulation, which granted the Christians an unmolested retreat, Mohammed gave the signal for the assault, on May 29, 1453. At first the defenders beat off the attack, but they soon succumbed to superior numbers. Finally, the Turks pressed into the city. Constantine sought and found death in despairing resistance. The horrified defenders rushed to the churches to seek protection or to die on sacred ground, at least. Thither the conquerors followed them, and dragged them forth to slaughter or slavery. Then they plundered the city to their fill. At the hour of noonday prayer the sultan entered the city, which was filled with blood and horror (Fig. 91). An entrance had been broken into the wall at the southeastern end of the city to admit him. It was the so-called Golden Porte, which was afterward walled up again. The sultan performed his devotions in the church of St. Sophia. Henceforth the chief seat of the Greek church was to be the chief mosque of the new Turkish capital. The state officers and the most eminent citizens were beheaded. Only a few could buy their liberty, while their wives and daughters were taken into the Turkish harems. On the third day after the fall of Constantinople, Mohammed finally stopped the carnage and rapine; for he did not wish to have the beautiful city, which was to be the centre of his mighty Europeo-Asiatic military empire, utterly ruined.

BOOK III.

THE TRIUMPH OF MONARCHY
OVER FEUDALISM.
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE
EUROPEAN STATES THROUGH
THE FIRST GENERAL EURO-
PEAN WARS AND THE
DISCOVERY OF THE
NEW WORLD.

(A. D. 1453—1519.)

THE TRIUMPH OF MONARCHY OVER FEUDALISM.

(A. D. 1453-1519.)

CHAPTER XII.

GERMANY UNDER FREDERICK III. AND MAXIMILIAN I.

(A. D. 1450-1519.)

THE great ecclesiastico-political conflicts, both national and social, which filled almost all the European states in the first half of the fifteenth century, had practically triumphed over the Middle Ages as such. Everywhere the germs of new forms of life and activity sprang up. The efforts of the Great Councils to reform the church had only resulted in the conviction that the papal church was incorrigible. It was inevitable that the thinking classes should become ever more estranged from this church. In the domain of public life, on the other hand, France had entered upon a promising new era after its existence had been threatened by the Hundred Years' War. The same tendency toward national unification was at work somewhat later in England and Spain. Germany alone did not succeed in carrying out its political regeneration. Even the social change, which occurred at this time in the western states of Europe, did not take place in Germany. Its expression was the increased importance of the cities. On account of the degeneration of the feudal nobility, the peoples of the cities became more and more the exponents of the economic and intellectual development of the nation. Here and there even the peasantry took part in public life. In Bohemia the change had found expression in revolution, in France in the way of lawful organization under the rule of Charles VII., and in Switzerland in the form of a confederacy.

At the close of the Middle Ages Germany was in every respect far behind the other European countries. While the latter consolidated into national states, the disintegration of Germany continued. While monarchy triumphed over feudalism in the western states, the feudal principle

proved too strong for the German constitution and reduced Germany to a loose confederation of states, and this accounts for the fact that Germany, in contradistinction to the other states, continued to lose territory. It had to give up a series of former conquests, while its eastern, western and northern boundaries were forced back and opened to attack. Besides, after the fall of Constantinople, the growing Turkish power became a constant menace to the ill-defended kingdom. This danger and the necessity of defence once more brought up the question of political reform.

Such a reform had been discussed at the Councils of Constance and Basel in connection with the ecclesiastical one, but it had come to naught. It was evident that hereafter the regeneration of the state had to be tried on an exclusively political basis. Since the fall of Constantinople the reform had taken on an entirely military character, which had condemned it from the start; for without an effective political constitution no useful military one was possible. The capture of Constantinople had opened the eyes of the electors to the necessity of defensive measures; for the idea of a reconquest of that city proved impracticable. The direction of affairs, on account of the apathy of Frederick III. (Fig. 92), fell to the reform-



FIG. 92.—Medal of Frederick III. (Berlin.)

party then forming. The patriotic Elector and Archbishop of Treves, James I. von Sirk, stood at its head. The opposition thought of deposing the emperor; for as he was always absent, the diets could do nothing. Not until the princes sought him in Vienna in February, 1455, could they induce him to approach the matter of a political reform. James I. of Treves presented a memorial; the Electors of Mayence, Cologne and Brandenburg approved it. The princes likewise united on several points, which might serve

as a beginning of the reform. These so-called *araisamente* (propositions, proposals) were set down in a regular reform-programme, which wisely restricted itself to a few attainable demands. But the opposition of Emperor Frederick III. prevented positive results.

The friends of reform left the court deeply disappointed. The discontent increased when it became known how the papal court violated



FIG. 93.— Frederick, the Victorious, of the Rhine Palatinate. Clad in a suit of mail preserved in the Castle of Ambras in the Tyrol. Engraving from a work on the collection of weapons at Ambras, published in 1602.

the articles of the Concordat of Vienna and even revived old abuses. In the midst of this the zealous reformer, the Archbishop of Treves, died in 1456. Thereupon, it seemed as if the question of reform was doomed again to oblivion. Their last sad experience warned the princes to draw more closely together and to meet the passive resistance of Frederick III. with greater energy.

In 1456 the electors assembled in Frankfort. Besides the political situation, they discussed especially the ecclesiastical abuses. They renewed the projects of reform formulated by the *avisamente*. But that was all; for the absence of the emperor made further action impossible. The conviction grew stronger that the first condition for the success of the reform was the deposition of Frederick III. Thus the electors resumed their previous idea of electing an anti-king who should be favorable to reform. However, this step only involved it in affairs which were foreign to the movement and made it subservient to irrelevant interests; for if the opposition chose Frederick the Victorious of the Palatinate (Fig. 93) as its candidate, the emperor found as zealous a defender in Albert Achilles of Brandenburg; consequently, the struggle for reform became a bitter conflict between the houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern: the one favored and the other opposed the reform only to draw profit from the movement. This bitter antagonism, which split the kingdom into two parties, of course made the success of reform impossible; consequently, the attempt again failed.

Under these circumstances, the candidacy of Frederick of the Palatinate was futile. Moreover, he does not seem to have been willing to play a part which could only have been disadvantageous to his house. This produced a remarkable change, which was decidedly influenced by the renewed connection between the political and the ecclesiastical reform; it shows how the conviction spread more and more that the kingdom could not be politically resuscitated without its deliverance from the papal yoke. That led back to the principles of the Councils of Constance and Basel; for the opposition had the national Bohemian king, George of Podiebrad, in view as Frederick's successor.

This remarkable military leader and diplomatist had risen in the struggles which had broken out after Sigismund's death between Albert of Austria and the national anti-king, Casimir IV. of Poland. Since 1452 he had been regent in Bohemia with the consent of Emperor Frederick III., who claimed the wardship of Albert's son, Ladislaus Posthumus. After Ladislaus had been elected king of Bohemia, in 1453, the magnates made Podiebrad regent. Finally, after the young king's death, the Bohemian estates raised him to the throne in 1458. He had

bought the recognition of the Roman court by making the rash promise of leading his people back to the Roman Catholic faith. About this time the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate and Duke Louis of Bavaria solicited Podiebrad's elevation to the German throne. Their foremost opponent, besides the Saxon elector, was Albert Achilles of Brandenburg. In one respect the election of George of Podiebrad opened great prospects for Germany; for it would give the moderate Hussite views influence there. By strengthening the reviving idea of church reform it gave an effective impetus to the political reform movement. Here the reform-party stepped in and sought support.

In June, 1459, Diether II., Count of Isenburg, had succeeded to the archbishopric of Mayence. He belonged to the church reform-party, if for no other reason than that the pope had not confirmed his election. He became the soul of the party. A demand for the summoning of a new council again arose. In its interest, Gregory of Heinburg, who had played a great part at Basel (see p. 193), went to France to seek co-operation; for the idea was to release the German church from papal bondage, much as France had been delivered by its Pragmatic Sanction. But the turncoat, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II., would hear of no such thing. By proclaiming a crusade against the Turks, to glorify his pontificate, he brought new financial burdens on Germany through the cardinal legate, Bessarion. This increased the dissatisfaction, and gave the opposition an effective means for agitation.

Under these circumstances, the elevation of George of Podiebrad to the German throne was seriously considered. Louis of Bavaria-Landshut soon made a compact with him, by which, in return for substantial advantage, he promised to help the Bohemian king to win the German crown. The Count Palatine made similar terms with him. In fact, the unfortunate part of the whole affair was, that every prince hastened to derive personal benefit from it. Nevertheless, matters progressed. George of Podiebrad met several princes at Eger. Albert Achilles of Brandenburg was among them, and the Bohemian king sought to reconcile him with the Count Palatine. But not only the enmity of these two houses stood in the way of Podiebrad's ambitious plans; for Diether of Mayence, although entirely for reform, had scruples about seating a heretic on the German throne. The pope would in no case crown him emperor. But the Bohemian desired the imperial crown above all else. An involved, deceitful intrigue on his part was the result. While the reform-party thought it had found the man to represent their demands emphatically from his moderate Hussite standpoint, he sought a secret reconciliation with Rome, thus denying his own belief.

This decided the victory of the opposition. An assembly of notables, held at Nuremberg in 1461, appealed to a general council, and the electors formed a new league. But neither were the houses of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach reconciled, nor was Podiebrad elected king of Germany. Naturally the emperor, as well as the pope, improved their opportunity to win adherents; so that the electoral league dissolved before it had taken action. The inhabitants of Frankfort, where the league was to have met, refused it admittance, at the instigation of Frederick III. In vain Diether of Mayence awaited its arrival in his city. The pope deposed him, and put Adolphus of Nassau in his place. Diether's opposition led to open war, in which the Count Palatine took his side. But Louis of Bavaria-Landshut, who fought in the emperor's name, was hard pressed by his old enemy of Brandenburg. However, he was finally victorious, through the help of the king of Bohemia and the Count Palatine. Louis's opponents had to submit in 1462 to the arbitration of Podiebrad. On the other hand, Diether succumbed and had to give up the archiepiscopal chair to Adolphus of Nassau (Fig. 94).

This sealed the doom of the reform-party. The papal court, too, was confident now of speedily disposing of Podiebrad. His inconsistency had compromised him everywhere. In 1462 he declared his obedience to the pope, and at the same time demanded the confirmation of the Compacts of Prague. Pius II. answered by demanding unconditional submission from the Hussites. To consent to this would have lost Podiebrad his standing in Bohemia. He accordingly gave up his dishonest double-dealing, and returned to his former position, whereupon Pius II. excommunicated him in 1462. The church armed the Catholic nobility of Bohemia against the heretic. Finally, the successor of Pius II., Paul II., deposed Podiebrad in 1466. But Casimir IV. of Poland, as well as the Elector of Brandenburg and Charles of Burgundy, declined the proffered crown of Bohemia. At last, the papacy found an instrument to execute its sentence in the Hungarian, Matthias Corvinus, the son of Hunyady. Thus the papal court itself put an end to the Turkish war which Pius II. had so zealously proclaimed as the first duty of Christendom.

János Hunyady had emulated the zeal of the Franciscan monk, John of Capistrano, in carrying on the crusade against the Turks. By relieving Belgrade, he had temporarily held back the enemy. When he died, his envious enemies arose, and King Ladislaus was weak enough to sacrifice Hunyady's oldest son, Ladislaus, to their hatred. But on the king's death without issue, in 1458, the nation made Hunyady's second son, Mat-



FIG. 91.—Tomb of Diether II., Count of Isenburg, Archbishop of Mayence. In the Cathedral of Mayence.

thias Corvinus, his successor on the throne. The opposition set up Emperor Frederick III. ; but soon Matthias found general acceptance, and, in 1462, the emperor sold out his claims for a few frontier districts and the title of King of Hungary. The Hungarian king was now free to exert all his powers, and he repeatedly beat back the onslaughts of Mohammed II. But as the Turks persisted in their attacks in spite of his successes, the Christian interests suffered greatly, when Paul II. (Fig. 95) used the



FIG. 95.—Leaden Bulla of Pope Paul II. Original size. (Berlin.)

Hungarian king to dethrone the heretical king of Bohemia ; for now Moravia and Bohemia became the scene of a changeful war. But the interference of the church brought on further disturbances. To win Polish help Podiebrad designated Wladislaw, the son of King Casimir IV., as his successor in Hungary. Thus he successfully warded off the attacks of the Hungarians, but the Turks were the real gainers. That was a great blow to the position of Matthias Corvinus in his own state. He was therefore prepared to end the futile war by a fair peace, when Podiebrad's death, in 1471, changed matters for the better.

For now his adherents chose him king of Bohemia, at the pope's instigation, while the national party stood by the Polish prince, Wladislaw. The ensuing dynastic struggle distressed Bohemia and the neighboring states for several years. The peace of Buda, in 1478, finally concluded it. It left the title of King of Bohemia to both pretenders, but gave Bohemia itself to the Polish prince. Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia went to Matthias Corvinus. But Hungary suffered, likewise, for some time from the after-effects of this useless war, which rendered the efforts of Matthias to secure the succession of his natural son, John, fruitless. When he died, in 1490, the Polish faction triumphed with ease, and chose Wladislaw Jagello, of Bohemia, king. To be sure, even he did not come up to their expectations, and Hungary, although united with Bohemia, declined rapidly. Its fall was only hastened by the renewal

of the Turkish attacks. Finally, both countries, by a series of fortunate accidents, were embodied in the domains of the house of Hapsburg.

During these wars in the east, the hopeful movement of political reform in the German empire fell to the ground. Frederick III. was the



FIG. 96.—Battle with the Turks. Facsimile of a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair (1472-1559) in the "Weisskunig" of Emperor Maximilian I. (The "Weisskunig" is an unfinished history of Maximilian's deeds, written partly by himself.)

immediate gainer. Through his persistent passive resistance, he had defeated the schemes of the opposition of the princes, who had united around the house of Wittelsbach and Diether II. of Mayence. The authority of the emperor and empire suffered deeply indeed from the

sorry issue of the reform movement. But that concerned the emperor very little. By the death of his brother Albert, in 1468, he had become lord of all Austria; yet he could scarcely repress the nobility, which was leagued with Podiebrad, nor could he protect Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola from Turkish inroads (Fig. 96). The greatest blow, however, to the emperor's reputation, was the disgraceful affair in which he became involved with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, simply to aggrandize his house. In the autumn of 1473 the emperor and the duke met in Treves. According to a preconceived plan, Frederick III. was to confer the royal title on Charles, and make him imperial vicar of the lands west of the Rhine; in return, Charles was to affiance his heir, Mary, to the emperor's son Maximilian. But as the emperor feared an act of violence from the



FIG. 97.—Hungarian warriors with the doublet, large pavise, and mace. A group from the woodcut representing the Triumph of Maximilian, by Hans Burgkmair.

suspicious duke, he fled from Treves. Charles, embittered by the supposed breach of faith, made it a pretext to interfere in a contest which had broken out in the archbishopric of Cologne. He attacked its fortress at Neuss. The siege lasted some months, only to end in a traitorous compact between Frederick III. and Burgundy, and the humiliation of Germany. Even the trustworthy Albert Achilles of Brandenburg now turned from the emperor in disgust. But Frederick III. was fully repaid for his perfidy after the duke's death, when a large and important part of the latter's domains fell to his son Maximilian. The emperor was filled with an almost fatalistic belief in the future great-

ness of the house of Hapsburg. This feeling found expression in his motto : A. E. I. O. U., i. e., *Austriae est imperare orbi universo*, "Austria's part is to rule the world." Nevertheless, the prospects of this universal rule grew smaller and smaller, for his support of Wladislaw of Poland exposed Frederick III. to an attack from Matthias Corvinus, with whom the Austrian nobility made common cause. Finally, the Hungarians (Fig. 97) besieged Vienna, the emperor's capital, itself. The city had to capitulate, and on June 1, 1485, Matthias entered in triumph. Until he paid the expenses of the war, Frederick III. had to leave their conquests in the hands of the enemy.

Following the traditional policy of his house, the emperor always stopped short in his schemes the moment the execution demanded great military exertions. That applies especially to his relations with the Swiss Confederacy. Its victories at Sempach and Näfels in 1388 had ended in a peace, which formally acknowledged the league. The accession of Appenzell to the confederation had involved it in a considerable war with the Abbot of St. Gall, who was an ally of the Hapsburgs. But when a sort of civil war broke out in 1436, between Zurich and Schwyz, about the contested legacy of the counts of Toggenburg, the young Swiss Confederacy suffered a severe shock ; for Zurich allied itself to Austria. But the defeat at the bridge of the Sihl compelled the city of Zurich to fulfil its duties to the confederacy in future. The citizens did this the more readily as the Swiss had defeated their ally, Frederick, to whom Charles VII. of France had given some mercenary bands for his campaign. The French king, however, was shrewder than the emperor, and tried to win the friendship of the Swiss. Switzerland, consequently, became an important ally of France, and furnished many mercenaries. Charles the Bold of Burgundy also strove to win the favor of the confederates. Their alliance with the bitterest enemies of the Hapsburgs finally prompted Frederick III. to bury his old antagonism to the Swiss. In 1474, he concluded a peace (the "Eternal Direction") with them, which practically recognized their independence.

Thus the empire declined incessantly. In the southwest it had lost Switzerland, and in the north, Prussia. Silesia, Lusatia, and Moravia were also carved off. The rise of the Burgundian power threatened severe losses in the west. The family lands of the Hapsburgs were partly in the hands of the Hungarians and partly exposed to Turkish attacks. The interior of the realm was filled with feuds and dissensions, which threatened to lay it completely bare to its neighbors. Under these circumstances the idea of a political reform arose again, and for once found a disinterested champion. After the Duke of Saxony had admin-

istered the vacant archbishopric of Mayence for two years, Count Berthold of Henneberg was made archbishop in 1484. He was one of the greatest men of his time, and succeeded in removing peaceably every obstacle which the emperor had hitherto thrown into the path of reform. His policy was to bind up the interest of the Hapsburgers intimately with the



FIG. 98.—Maximilian I. in his chancery. Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair in the "Weisskunnig."

reform of the empire, so as to overcome the passive resistance of the emperor. The latter's highly gifted son, Maximilian (PLATE XVI.), offered the possibility of success in this direction. He seemed able and willing to co-operate with the reform-party as far as his father, who was very suspicious of his power, would permit. At first the emperor resisted the

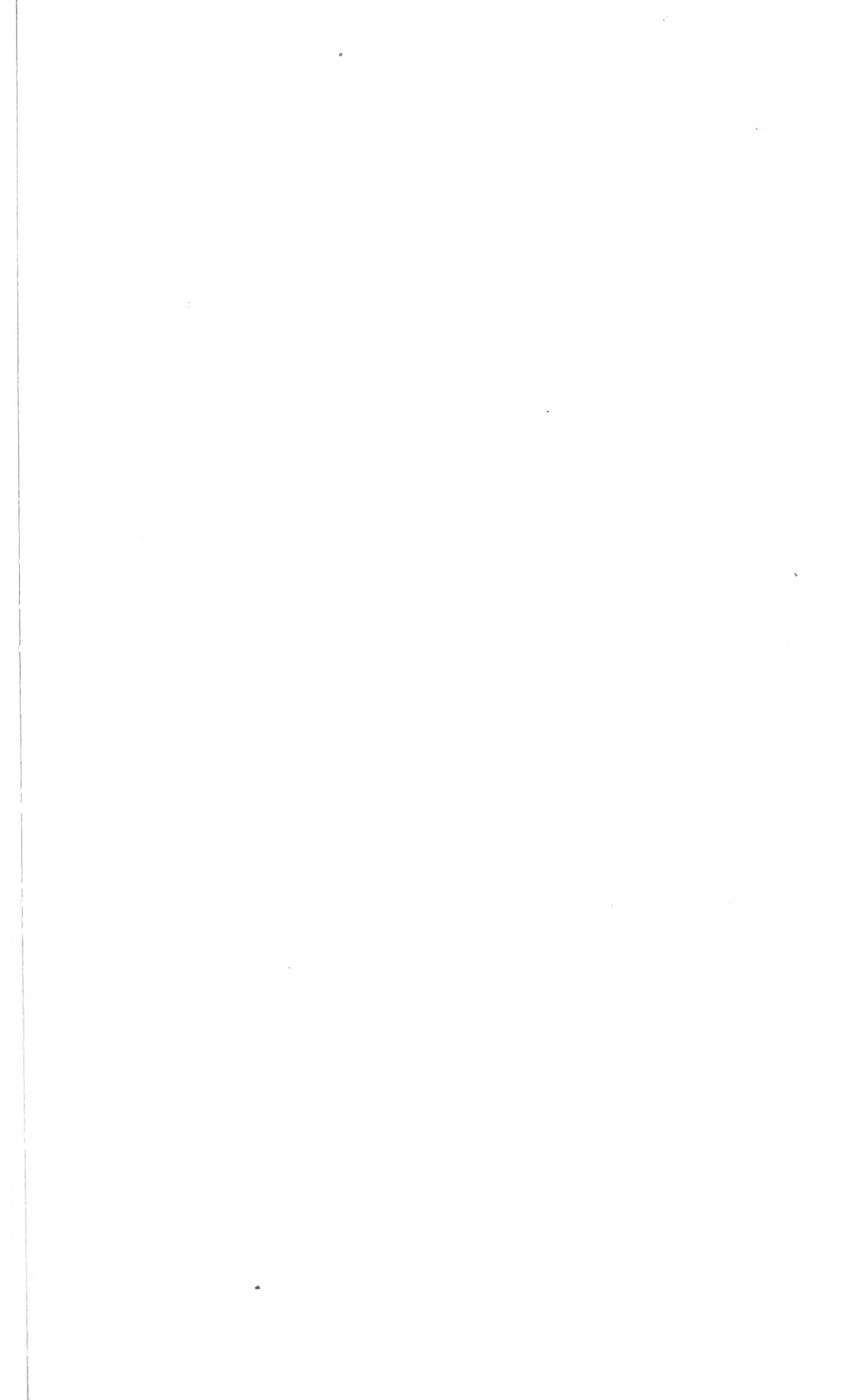
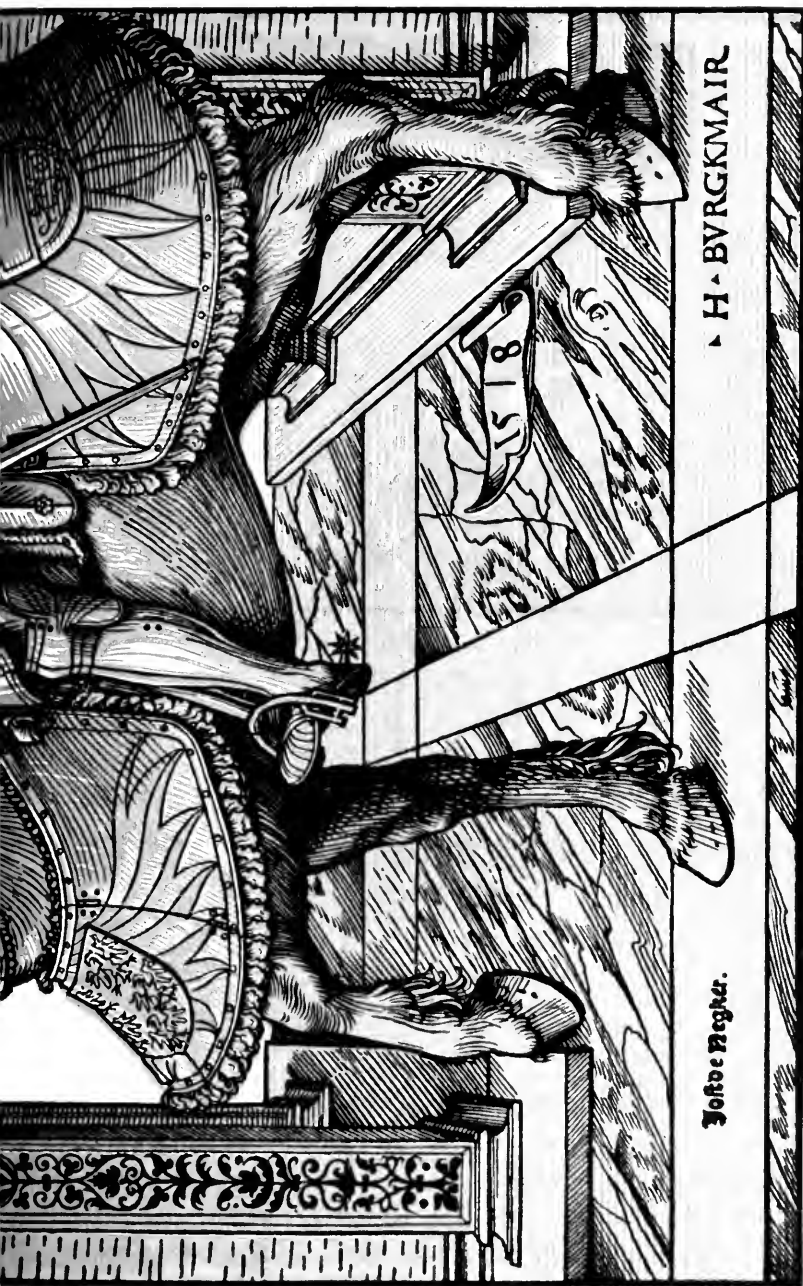


PLATE XVI.





Emperor Maximilian I.

Wood-cut made in 1505 by Jost de Negker, in two blocks, after a drawing by Hans Burgkmair (1472-1531). Reduced facsimile.

History of All Nations, Vol. X., page 276.

the election of Maximilian as king of the Romans. He made his consent conditional on Maximilian's promise to desist from every interference in state affairs during his father's lifetime. But there was little fear of his meddling; for, when Maximilian was chosen king of the Romans in 1486, he seems to have found it pleasanter to be rid of all disagreeable



FIG. 99.—Maximilian I. in the workshop of an armorer. Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair in the "Weisskunig."

matters of state, so as to be able to devote himself at his leisure to various fancies and dreams.

This put the question of political reform in a new stage of development; its former course had taught the parties concerned something;

consequently, they adapted different aims now and used other means to reach them, and herein lies the merit of Maximilian, that his tact discovered the point of departure favorable to successful action. He knew how to steer the reform into a new and peculiar course, which was capable of continued life. Formerly every attempt had centred around the estab-



FIG. 100.—Maximilian's army besieging a city. Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair in the "Weisskunig."

lishment of a standing army, and the introduction of a general tax for its support. The princes had always made their consent to the increased royal authority which followed conditional on the previous fulfilment of their demands. These were the confirmation of the public peace and the

erection of an independent supreme court. The mutual deadlock which ensued had heretofore made every reform impossible. But we must not overlook the fact that the need was much stronger in the south of Germany than in the north, on account of its peculiar political and social institutions. The conflict of parties was worst of all in Swabia. For almost a century this country had been the scene of constantly renewed struggles between the estates; consequently, King Maximilian (Figs. 98-100) could count on Swabia responding to his advances. If he succeeded in restoring order there, there was some hope that the particular form of union or confederation introduced in Swabia would find acceptance in other parts of the kingdom; for confederation was the only

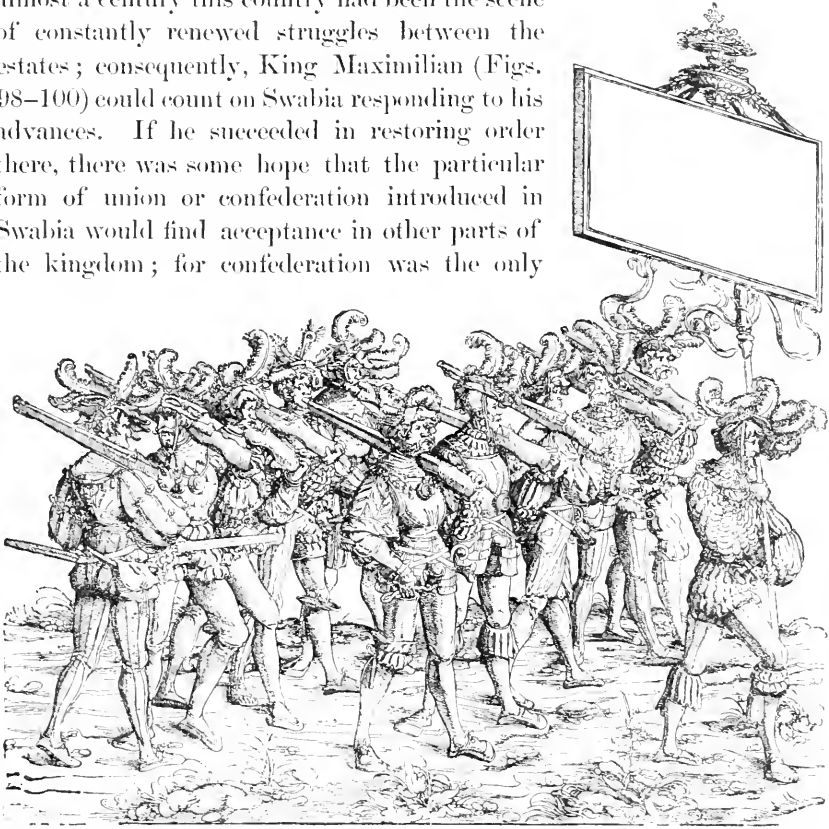


FIG. 101.—Militia armed with arquebuses. Group from Hans Burgkmair's woodcut in the "Triumph of Emperor Maximilian I."

possible resource, inasmuch as every other reform which would have increased the royal power would have forthwith provoked general opposition.

Since the fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the middle of the thirteenth century, Swabia had been pre-eminently the land of imperial cities and petty immediate lords, i. e., such vassals as held their fiefs directly from the crown. They had always to be on their guard against the powerful neighboring family of Wittelsbach. This constant antagonism



FIG. 102.—Example of the first complete plate-armor. Armor of Maximilian I. made in Nuremberg before 1480. It weighs about thirty-nine pounds. (Vienna.)

gave a peculiar impetus to the principle of confederation in Swabia. A great number of leagues arose among the cities and knights, which were soon in endless conflict with one another. Therefore, as early as 1384, the League of Ehingen had already attempted to break up the leagues of particular estates and to widen them into a confederation of all the estates with a greater common interest. Here Maximilian took up the matter. His chief adviser was the imperial counsellor, Hugo von Werdenberg, the leader of the Knights' League of St. George (*zum Georgsschilde*). His plan was to unite all the antagonistic leagues of the knights and citizens of Swabia into one great confederation. After tedious negotiations a plan for a Swabian League could be presented at a diet in Esslingen in January, 1487. It annulled the rights of the individual estates to make separate leagues.

Such a measure naturally provoked many, who consequently hesitated to give their consent to the plans, thus threatening it with ruin. Maximilian, therefore, procured an imperial order which disbanded all the older leagues, an act that brought around the opposition so that the formal conclusion of the Swabian League could take place on February 14, 1488. It consisted at first of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, Count Eberhard of Württemberg, the Swabian prelates and knights, and twenty-two imperial cities. At its head stood a federal council, which consisted of two elements. To the one belonged nine representatives of the prelates and knights, and to the other, nine of the cities. They were all chosen yearly, and were under the president of the confederation (*Bundeshauptmann*). At first the princes were represented in the federal council only by ambassadors; later on the council was augmented by a college of princes. The vigor of the league appeared in its military effectiveness; for at the summons of the council the prelates and knights as well as the princes and the cities had to send their stipulated contingents (Figs. 101, 102). Each group had to furnish 3000 infantry and 300 cavalry, so that the league had the disposal of the considerable force of 12,000 foot-soldiers and 1200 cavalymen. In case of need this army had to appear in a body in the field. A federal treasury provided the necessary funds, which were assessed proportionately on the members of the league.

The new organization proved very effective. It made such an impression that even extra-Swabian members joined it. Its energetic conduct in releasing Maximilian from captivity in Bruges, into which he had fallen after his queen's death, and the part it played in the war with the Duke of Bavaria, increased the reputation of the new league. The fact that it introduced a new constitutional element into the realm, further augmented its importance; for the Swabian League had nothing in common with the customary leagues for the preservation of the public peace. The Swabian League was the first German federal state. Accordingly, its aim was not to represent individual interests, but to give an equal representation to various conflicting interests. In a small way the Swabian League accomplished what the realm at large stood in need of. In so far the kingdom could hail it as a promising type of the federal principle. Its success in the most disintegrated part of the land reanimated the dying belief in the possibility of an effective political reform.

However, these hopes were ultimately realized only in part and in an unsatisfactory manner. The blame for their failure rests chiefly on Maximilian; for however quickly he grasped and appreciated a situation, he still always remained bound up in the narrow interests of his

house. As contrasted with his father, Maximilian, in whose veins the fiery blood of his Portuguese mother flowed, was inclined to busy himself in too many things. This prompted him to try to bring matters to a successful issue before they were ripe. His whole policy is characterized by a certain disorderly haste which recoiled from the first serious opposition. Thus he often suddenly dropped projects which he had zealously attempted only to turn to other undertakings. Maximilian, therefore, brought none of his multitudinous schemes to a successful conclusion. He destroyed rather than created. In spite of all this, he is perhaps the most attractive personality of all the Hapsburg rulers. We must not underestimate his service in having brought the domains of his house firmly together by means of his amiable and truly popular disposition. He laid the foundation of a veneration for the house of Hapsburg on which he could erect the greater administrative unity of its possessions. But



FIG. 103.—Silver coin of Maximilian I. and his second wife Bianca Maria Sforza. Obverse: MAXIMILINVS · RO · REX · E(t) · BL(a)NCA · M · C(o)NIGES IV. Reverse: ESTO · NOBIS · TERRIS · FORTIS · A FACIE · INIMICI. Original size. (Berlin.)

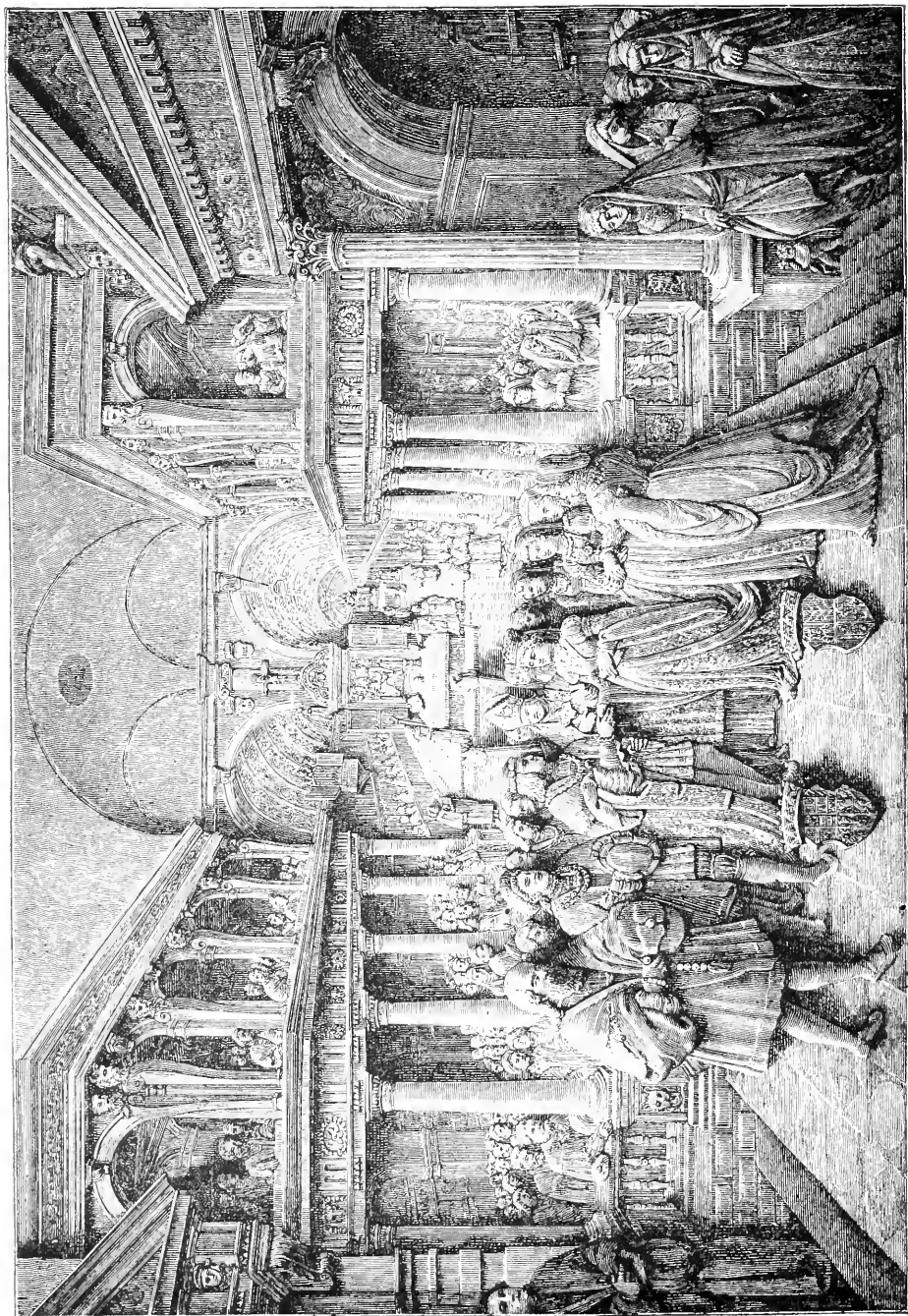
Maximilian's peculiar nature was particularly disadvantageous in foreign politics. At any rate, he entirely misconceived the actual political situation when he tried to replace the nominal suzerainty of Germany over Italy by real sovereignty; for by his marriage with Bianca Sforza (Fig. 103) he tried to found a purely family claim on Milan, in support of which he drew the

kingdom into a war with France. Thereby, Maximilian himself finally set the reform of Germany at naught, the introduction of which he had favored by founding the Swabian League.

Though formerly opposing, Frederick III. (Figs. 104,¹ 105²) had found

¹ In Fig. 104, the Emperor Frederick III. is represented in full imperial costume. The scarf around his sceptre bears the initial letters of the words *Austriæ Est Imperare Orbi Universo* (Austria is the appointed ruler of the whole world). Above his sword a scroll with his monogram. At his feet a heraldic shield with the Hapsburg lion; at his left the ancient arms of the empire, the shield with five eagles, and the arms of Lombardy. The inscription around the slab reads: FRIDERICVS TERCIVS ROMANOR · IMPERATOR · S[em]P[er] · AVGVSTVS AVSTRIE, STIRIE, KARINTHIE, ET CARNIOLE DVX D[omi]N[us] MARCHE SCLAVONICE AC PORTVSNAONIS COMES I HABSPVRG, TIROL, PHERRET ET INBVRG MARCHIO BYRGOVIE ET LANTGRAVI ALSACIE OBIT ANO DNI MCCC [LXXXIII]. This monument has been ascribed to Nicholas Lerch, and was executed in the lifetime of Frederick; hence he is represented with open eyes, and the date of his death is not given in the inscription.

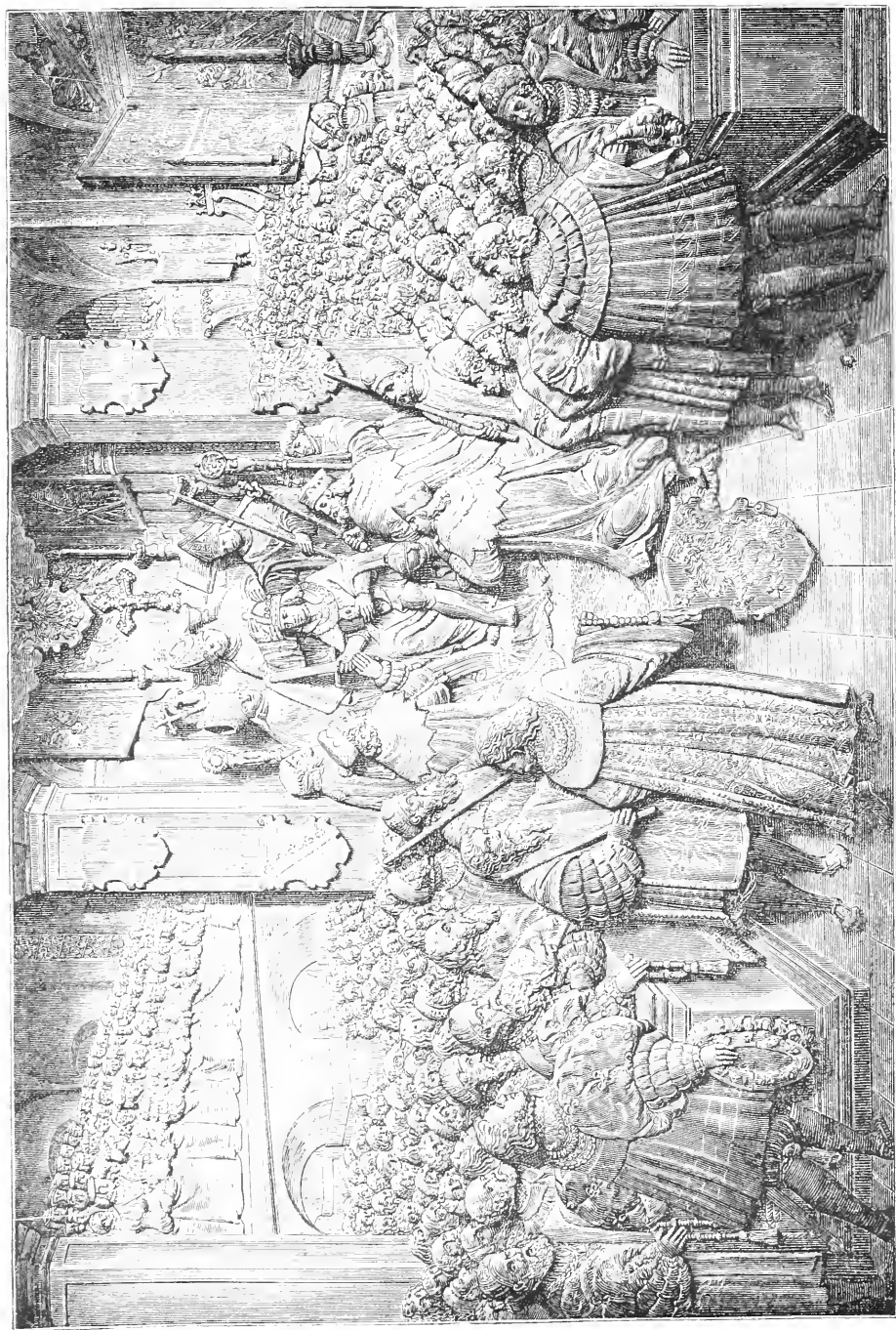
² The monument of the empress is one of the finest works of plastic art of the fifteenth



Wedding of Maximilian I. and Mary of Burgundy.

Relief in marble on the tomb of the emperor in the Franciscan church (Hof-kirche) at Innsbruck.

History of All Nations, Vol. X., page 263.



Coronation of Maximilian I. as Emperor.

Relief in marble on the tomb of the emperor in the Franciscan church (Hof-kirche) at Innsbruck.

it more convenient now to leave the management of affairs to his son. Consequently, his death, in August, 1493, made no perceptible change, except that Maximilian could now act more independently and boldly. In his new position as the champion of the Hapsburg family he now laid greater stress on his personal interests (PLATES XVII., XVIII.¹). He freed himself from the reform-party and accordingly changed his internal policy. This was the source of the conflict which soon endangered the success of the initiated political reform. While the princes, under Berthold of Henneberg, strove after a complete reorganization of the realm, Maximilian was not willing to sacrifice his authority. He agreed to it only in so far as it put the state on a military basis sufficient to supply him with the means to pursue his plans. Instead of being aided by the growing power of the house of Hapsburg, the kingdom was only to serve its purposes. True, the conquest of Austria from the Hungarians and its defence against the Turks (Fig. 106) was beneficial to the kingdom at large. But the accession of the Netherlands, the inheritance of Maximilian's first wife, Mary of Burgundy, involved Germany in far-reaching complications. Thus a constant competition between home and foreign politics took place, the one disturbing and hampering the other. On both sides the kingdom was the sufferer.

At the diet of Worms, in 1495, this antagonism made itself clearly felt. In view of the threatening French war, Maximilian demanded, above all, the strengthening of the national army. The estates, led by Berthold of Henneberg, made their consent conditional on the execution of the proposed political reform. A committee of the diet agreed upon a programme after tedious discussion. It proposed an imperial council (*Reichsrath*) for the future settlement of all state affairs. It was to consist of seventeen members. The emperor was to appoint its president, but the electors and the estates were to choose the remaining councillors. In short, the plan proposed a decided aristocratic government, of which the emperor was to be only the president without an authoritative voice. The diet was prepared to make sacrifices in return for this restriction of the royal power. It was willing to grant Maximilian the necessary supplies by levying a general tax, the "common penny;" but Maximilian would not accept the programme even at that

century, executed by Nicholas Lerch of Leyden. The inscription reads thus: DIVI · FRIDERICI · CESARIS · AVGVSTI · CONTHORALIS · LEONORA · AVGVSTA · REGE · PORTVGALLE · GENITA · AVGVSTALEM · REGIAM · HAC · VRNA · COMMTAVIT · III · NON · SEPTEMBR · 1467. In the upper corner the arms of the empire and of Portugal; below an Austrian shield and the panther of Styria.

¹ Maximilian became emperor in 1493. He had married Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, in 1477, and had become king of the Romans in 1486.



FIG. 104.—Monumental effigy of the Emperor Frederick III. (In St. Stephen's, Vienna.)



FIG. 105.—Monumental effigy of the Empress Eleonora, first wife of Emperor Frederick III.
(In the Cistercian Abbey, Vienna.)



FIG. 106.—Scene from the Turkish wars of Maximilian I. Relief in marble, after the model of Florian Abel, on the Tomb of the Emperor in the Franciscan Church (Hofkirche) at Innsbruck; sixteenth century work.

price. By his so-called improvements thereon, he essentially changed its character. His opposition seemed to make a compromise impossible. But after all, Maximilian had to have money, and the princes thought that a partial reform was better than none at all; so a compromise finally ensued, which found expression in the famous statute of August 7, 1495.

This statute first of all proclaimed a general public peace. But the question was how it was to be enforced. Doubtless, some sort of organization was necessary to put an end to the prevalent destructive feuds. One of the articles provided a remedy for the attacked party. It provided for the establishment of a superior court, an imperial Aulic Council, which was to sit in Frankfort. The king was to appoint the presiding judge, while the princes were to nominate sixteen assessors. These counsellors were taken equally from the nobility and the doctors of laws.



FIG. 107.—Silver coin (thaler), of Maximilian I. Original size. Obverse: * MAXIMILIANVS ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMP[er] AVG[ustus]. Reverse: * PLVRIMQ[ue] EVROPE P[ro]VINCIARVM REX ET PRINCEPS POTEN[tissimus]. The arms of the empire, surmounted by the imperial crown and surrounded by the arms of Hungary, Austria, Burgundy, and of the house of Hapsburg. (Berlin.)

The whole plan of the council was another attempt of the princes to limit the emperor's power. That resulted in another conflict, inasmuch as Maximilian's aim was to put in the place of the Aulic Council the Austrian supreme court, the competency of which was really restricted to the Austrian lands. Consequently, this reform-decree also remained a dead letter. The third article of the statute did not fare much better. It related to the levy of the "common penny." During the following four years every property of 500 florins was to pay half a florin, every one of 1000 to pay one. Those possessed of less than 500 florins should pay one in sets of twenty-four. The rich were expected to make additional sacrifices for the good of the country. But another conflict arose on this point. The estates demanded the collection and disposal of the

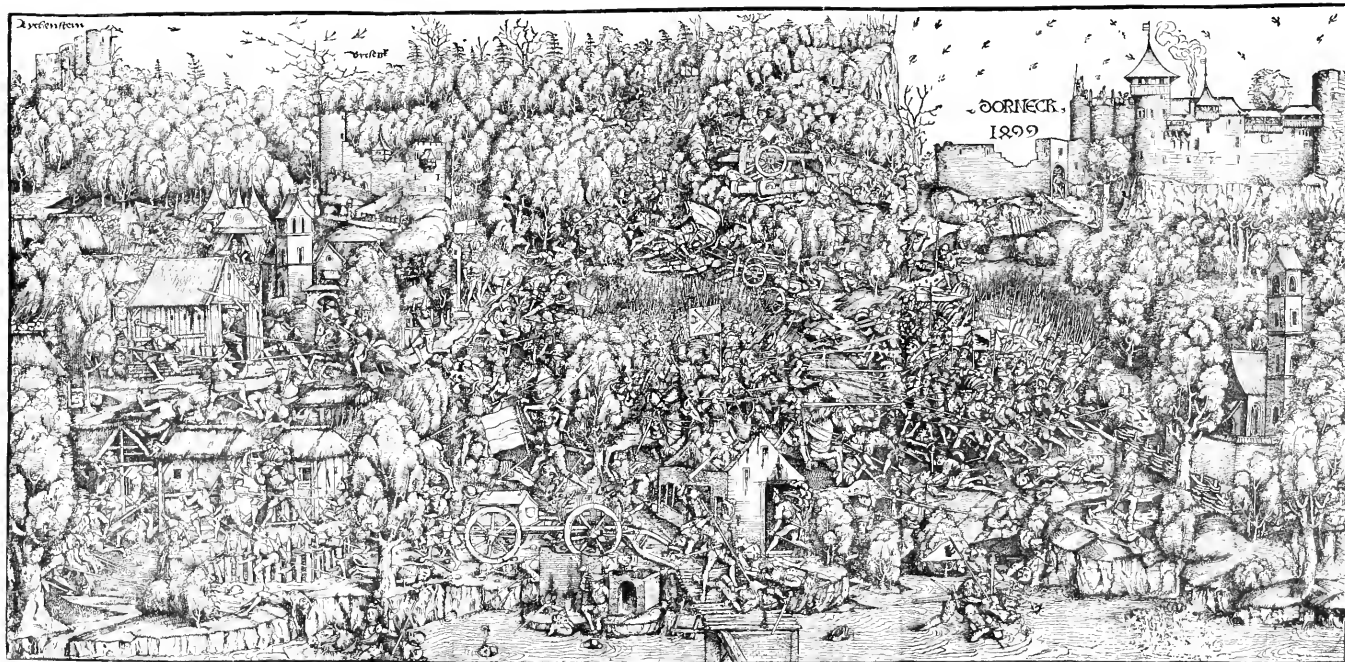
tax (Fig. 107). Their resolution that it was necessary to hold yearly diets for this purpose was another step toward setting up a government by the estates.

For the first time a diet had reached a positive result in the matter



FIG. 108.—Emperor Maximilian I. Painted by Albert Dürer in 1519. (Vienna, Imperial Picture Gallery in the Belvedere.) The picture is painted on wood and is 28 in. high. The emperor wears a fur cape, and holds in his left hand a pomegranate.

of reform. But no one was at first really satisfied with the outcome of the proceedings at Worms. Still, however much the reform-party might



The Bath of Dornach 1899

Reproduced from the original manuscript.

demur because it had only set up a court inimical to the king instead of a centralized aristocratic body, and however openly displeased Maximilian was at having received only a meagre financial make-shift instead of an army, nevertheless, the statute of Worms marked a great advance; for it gave expression, for the first time, to a German united citizenship. For the "common penny" was to be paid to the kingdom as such and not to one of its parts. To be sure, the estates thereby sacrificed somewhat of their independence; but in return they got a constitutional share in the highest judiciary and administrative organs of the realm. However, the continuation of the good beginning required a certain resignation to the common welfare, which neither Maximilian nor the estates was capable of. The former was disappointed because the receipts from the "common penny" fell far below his modest expectations. The nobility had strenuously opposed the tax as an infringement of their rights. Their opposition was prompted in part by the economic straits in which they found themselves in that period of transition. Land values had fallen greatly, and money values and labor had risen disproportionately. Besides, the new order met with bitter resistance in another quarter. The Swiss resisted the efforts of Maximilian (Fig. 108) to bring them within the jurisdiction of the imperial Aulic Council. They did this the more because they dreaded a renewal of that dependence which had long practically ceased. The rupture led to war in 1499. In spite of the aid of the Swabian League the campaign was unsuccessful, as France used the opportunity for an attack on Lombardy. Thus the so-called Swabian War (cf. PLATE XIX.¹) ended the year it had begun in the Treaty of Basel. It freed the Swiss from the jurisdiction of the imperial Aulic Council, as well as from the payment of the "common penny." In other words, the treaty recognized the independence of the Swiss, even if they were to remain united to the German empire as "relatives."

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

The Battle of Dornach, 1499. Reduced facsimile of an unsigned contemporary wood engraving.

On the right the castle of Dornach (or Dorneck) defended by the Swiss, and attacked by Austrian cannon. Behind the cannon there suddenly break through the wood the Swiss army of reinforcements and capture them. In the centre of the picture the "Welsh (a 'foreign') guard" of the emperor in conflict with Swiss, over whose heads floats the standard of Berne ("with the bear"); further to the right the church of Dornach. On the left, in the middle distance, the village of Birseck, where was the camp of the Imperialists; the tent of the general, Count Henry of Fürstenberg, is marked with his coat of arms; behind it a band of fugitives. In the foreground the river Birs, into which many of the Austrians are driven. The village of Dornach in the foreground is filled with groups and single individuals hotly engaged—a scene suggestive of the horrors of warfare in the fifteenth century.

On the German peasants, however, the victory of their fellows made no small impression.

Thus, in Germany, political problems again went hand in hand with the great economic and social changes of the time; but the connection



FIG. 109.—Facsimile of a group from Albert Dürer's "Gate of Honor" of Maximilian I. In the foreground Maximilian's troops in conflict. Beyond, a band of knights mounted on horses in armor; in front of these, a company of Flemish citizens surrendering Philip, the son of Maximilian, whom they had held a prisoner.

was so incomplete that it resulted in the detriment of the country. The displacement of payments in kind by money transformed social and economic relations and brought out the antagonism between the nobility

and the towns. Add to this the transformation of the army through the development of the infantry, the beginning of standing armies, and the greater use of cannon. These changes greatly depressed the feudal nobility. Its occupation was gone. For few were rich enough to carry on the military profession as did, for instance, Franz von Sickingen, by means of paid mercenaries and ordnance. In the cities, as well as in the country, the third estate rose and questioned the privileged position of the old families. Even the peasants showed signs of a kindred movement. They felt the impetus given by the Hussites and Swiss to revolt against their lords. As the powers did not allow them to apply the federal principle to themselves, they made leagues of their own accord.



FIG. 110. — Maximilian I. and his Cannon. Detail from Albert Dürer's "Gate of Honor" of Maximilian.

Consequently, Germany was in the greatest turmoil at this time. Everywhere the old battled with the new. It was fatal for Germany that it did not have an unselfish, energetic head during this crisis. Instead of that it was ruled by the well-meaning but inconsistent and selfish Hapsburg, Maximilian I. He did not understand the signs of the times, and was neither able nor willing to lead in the coming development. In consequence of the increasing disproportion between his means and his soaring schemes Maximilian often played a pitiful part in the

general politics of his time (cf. Figs. 109, 110). His foreign failures reacted on home affairs and caused a distrust on the part of the princes, which made salutary co-operation impossible. Naturally, the political reform fell into abeyance, although the empire was divided into ten circles or districts in 1512 for the better observance of the public peace. Each circle was to unite its estates in a particularly firm bond, to supply financial and military means, to hinder feuds and to enforce the sentences of the imperial Aulic Council. But even this institution amounted to little in Maximilian's lifetime. He was disappointed in his schemes, and withdrew more and more from public affairs.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN MONARCHY AND FEUDALISM UNDER LOUIS XI. OF FRANCE (1461-1483) AND DUKE CHARLES THE BOLD OF BURGUNDY (1467-1477).

JUST as, in Germany, this period was filled with the struggle between monarchy and aristocracy, so the new French monarchy had to go through a severe crisis when the feudal forces made a last general assault on it. The two inimical principles find characteristic embodiment in King Louis XI. of France (1461-1483) and Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1467-1477). The passionate struggle of these two rulers decided the victory of monarchy over feudalism not only for France, but for Western Europe as well.

King John only added to the disasters he had brought on France by sowing the seed of future discord when he conferred the vacant fief of Burgundy on his youngest son, Philip of Valois, in 1361. The hostility of John of Burgundy to Louis of Orleans gave rise to a destructive civil war during the minority and insanity of Charles VII. The Treaty of Arras, by which Philip the Good of Burgundy severed his connection with the archenemy of France, England, only made matters worse. Moreover, Duke Philip bought the countship of Namur, and inherited Brabant and Limburg in 1430. Six years later he compelled Jacqueline of Holland, who was surrounded by domestic enemies, to make over Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut to him. Finally, he inherited Luxemburg also. The Burgundian dukes now ruled over a territory unsurpassed by any kingdom, and were a source of danger both to France and Germany. Nor did any other state have so many divergent yet not antagonistic races as the new Burgundian realm. Its proud free citizens had, through trade and industry, won such riches and culture that they surpassed all similar bodies. The royal splendor of the ducal court at Ghent and Brussels was the brilliant home of chivalry and was famous far and wide. The French court in especial could in no wise rank with the Burgundian. This incongruity was enough to fill Charles VII. and Louis XI. with displeasure, and to call out their hostility to their overbearing and powerful cousin.

In 1467 Philip the Good of Burgundy died (Fig. 111). He was suc-



FIG. 111.—Philip the Good of Burgundy; died 1467. He is represented in a suit of armor which is now preserved in the castle of Ambras. From a woodcut in a work on the collection of arms at Ambras, published in 1602.

ceeded by his son, Charles, whom his contemporaries called the Bold, or, rather, the Rash. He had a magnificent presence, and combined the splendor of a feudal prince with the virtues of a military leader. He was the ideal of his fellow-knights, especially as he was morally pure and was faithful to his duchess, Isabella of Bourbon. His indefatigable activity and his rash daring were doubly imposing when contrasted with the caution and indecision of his two chief opponents, Emperor Frederick III. and King Louis XI. of France. But Charles's very spirit proved his weakness, and finally destroyed him. The development of his character had been greatly influenced by his falling out with his father because he bitterly opposed his favorites, Anthony and John de Croy. The French dauphin finally brought about a reconciliation in the family quarrel which restored at least external peace.

That both quarreled with their fathers was the only point of similarity between the heirs of Burgundy and France, for the dauphin had received indelible impressions at his father's lax court. The end of Jacques Coeur, who had played the most meritorious part in the reconstruction of France, caused Louis to reflect seriously. Coeur had fallen the victim of a scandalous court intrigue on the charge of having murdered the king's mistress, Agnes Sorel. When this was proved false, other trumped-up charges were brought against him, for which the court unjustly condemned him to death. The king changed the sentence to life-long imprisonment. But Jacques Coeur escaped to Italy, and fought against the Turks, dying in 1456 on the island of Chios. Louis on becoming king cancelled the proceedings against him; therefore, it is probable that he gave vent to his disgust in the course of the intrigues which overthrew him. This increased the rupture between the king and the dauphin. Louis's second marriage (with Louise of Savoy) against his father's wish made his position entirely impossible. He fled to Burgundy, where he was welcomed by Philip the Good and his son Charles of Charolais. They seriously discussed a plan to depose Charles VII. and put the dauphin in his place. It was not carried out, and France and Burgundy were deadly enemies henceforth, for Louis recognized what he should have to expect as king. His hostility to the Burgundian house became the fiercer because he was conscious that he could not dispense with the hated rival for the present, for when Charles VII. died in 1461, Philip and his son conducted the fugitive to Rheims for his coronation; he could not enter Paris without their protection. He never forgot how the imposing presence and royal splendor of the duke outshone him on that occasion (Fig. 112). Henceforth a personal element entered and lent intensity to his political hostility to the Burgundian.

Louis XI. (Fig. 113) was the direct opposite of the Duke of Burgundy. Gloomy and self-contained, he strove with unalterable consistency to free the royal power from feudal predominance. Therefore,



FIG. 112.—Tournament at the Burgundian Court. Miniature of the fifteenth century in the Froissart manuscript of the Public Library of Breslau.

his servants and help-mates had to be absolutely obedient and subservient to him. He was a stranger to every ideal motive, and was always

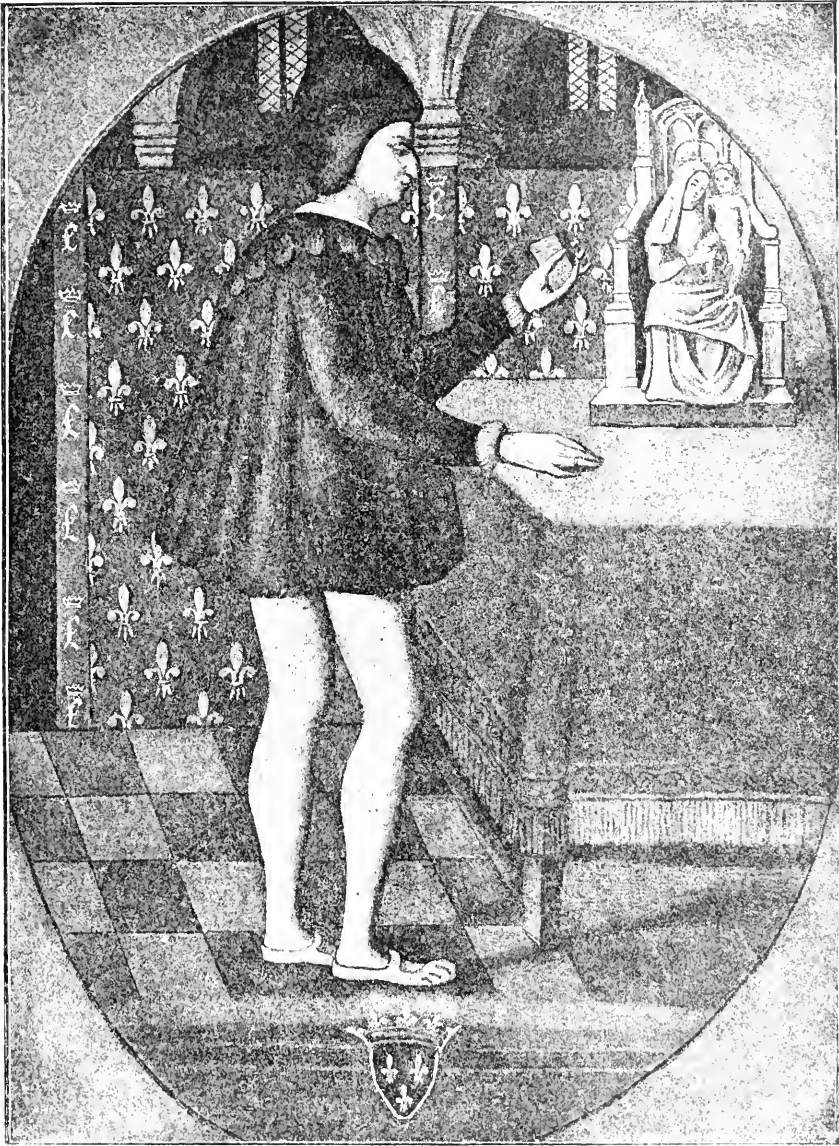


FIG. 113.—King Louis XI. of France. Anonymous painting on parchment; fifteenth century. (Paris, in private possession.)

actuated by self-interest. Everywhere he scented secrets. He burned with a desire to penetrate them so as to turn them to his advantage. The rights of others did not exist for him. His own profit was ever present to him, and he sought to further it by every means, fair or foul.

In fact, he preferred cunning to open-handed violence. It was this that colored his nature with falseness, cowardice, perfidy, and tyranny. Thus Louis XI. appears as the incarnation of all the powers hostile to the spirit of the Middle Ages; nor did any one, indeed, contribute so much to their overthrow. His antagonism to the old spirit appears also in his religious belief; for, however much Louis might show his pious fervor, he was still subject to a crass, sensual superstition. He aspired to nothing but a good bargain with heaven, from which he hoped to buy health and good fortune by his good works. He wore images of saints around his cap so that he might worship them every moment. But beneath this odd covering there lurked an independent, confident, and ambitious spirit which had little in common with the thoughts and feelings of his contemporaries. Louis XI. is like those perfidious tyrants which Italy produced in great numbers at that time. He is the classical representative of that statecraft which found its literary champion in Machiavelli somewhat later. But Louis surpassed the Italian type in one essential: while that only had its personal advantage in view, the French king was free from such mere personal aspirations, and felt and acted like the embodiment of the state. He delivered France from the ecclesiastical and feudal bonds of the Middle Ages. Conceiving the state as founded in law, he sought to transform its institutions accordingly from the ground up. Naturally his contemporaries did not appreciate his position. Their minds clung to the uncomfortable eccentricity of the king's exterior, and shyly avoided his demoniacal spirit. Consequently, legend wove her dense woof around Louis XI. while he was still alive. The people anxiously avoided approaching his castle at Plessis-les-Tours so as not to fall a prey to his distrust or that of his spies and catchpolls. But this remarkable man became the irreconcilable enemy of the feudal lords, and made it his life-work to annihilate them. The future showed that right was on the king's side. However his life and activity may repel us to-day, his enemies had no higher moral principles than he.

The French feudal lords soon saw what they had to expect from the new king. His protection of the maltreated peasants and his restriction of the feudal right of the chase in their favor, caused almost more general dissatisfaction than his attempt to force the Duke of Brittany into his old feudal dependence. The Duke of Burgundy was especially put out because he thought that Louis owed him peculiar gratitude for having helped him to the throne. The nobility soon united to secure their supposed rights against the threatening innovations. Accordingly they founded a league for the public welfare (*ligue du bien public*).

Both parties met in arms in 1465. The advantage was decidedly on the side of the feudal faction, although the mass of the lower classes stood by the king. The loyal masses also preserved Paris for the king. But when the barons appeared before the city and cut off supplies, the Parisians wavered, and the king had to come to terms with the insurgents. The outcome was a deep humiliation, for the Treaty of Conflans, to which he had to agree in October, 1465, not only restored all the rights of the feudal lords, but also freed them from the duty of appearing in person before the king. The latter surrendered the cities on the



FIG. 114. — French life in the fifteenth century. Reception of a king and his train at a castle. From a miniature in the manuscript called "*Miracles de Nostre Dame*" by Jean Mielot, secretary of Philip the Good of Burgundy. (Oxford, Bodleian Library.)

Somme and the city of Liège to the Duke of Burgundy. But the greatest humiliation for the king was that he had to submit to the establishment of a commission, consisting of representatives of the nobility, clergy, and Parlement of Paris, to examine the condition of state affairs and into the royal acts. That amounted almost to enforced abdication. It threatened an unrestricted feudal reaction. It really put in question all that the French monarchy had accomplished for a century. Like Ger-

many, France was on the verge of what we may call an aristocratic polyarchy, which represented the exclusive interests of a small class. The conduct of the people, however, proved that it had profited by such a rule in the early days of the Valois. After all, it set some store by the nation-



FIG. 115.—French Life in the fifteenth century; a Criminal led to Execution. From the "Miracles de Nostre Dame," by Jean Meiot. (See Fig. 114).

ality which it had rescued from English predominance. Rather than submit to a many-headed feudal rule, the people took upon itself the sufferings connected with a royal rule such as that of Louis, because it at least guaranteed the continuance of the national life. (For scenes from French life at this time, see Figs. 114, 115).

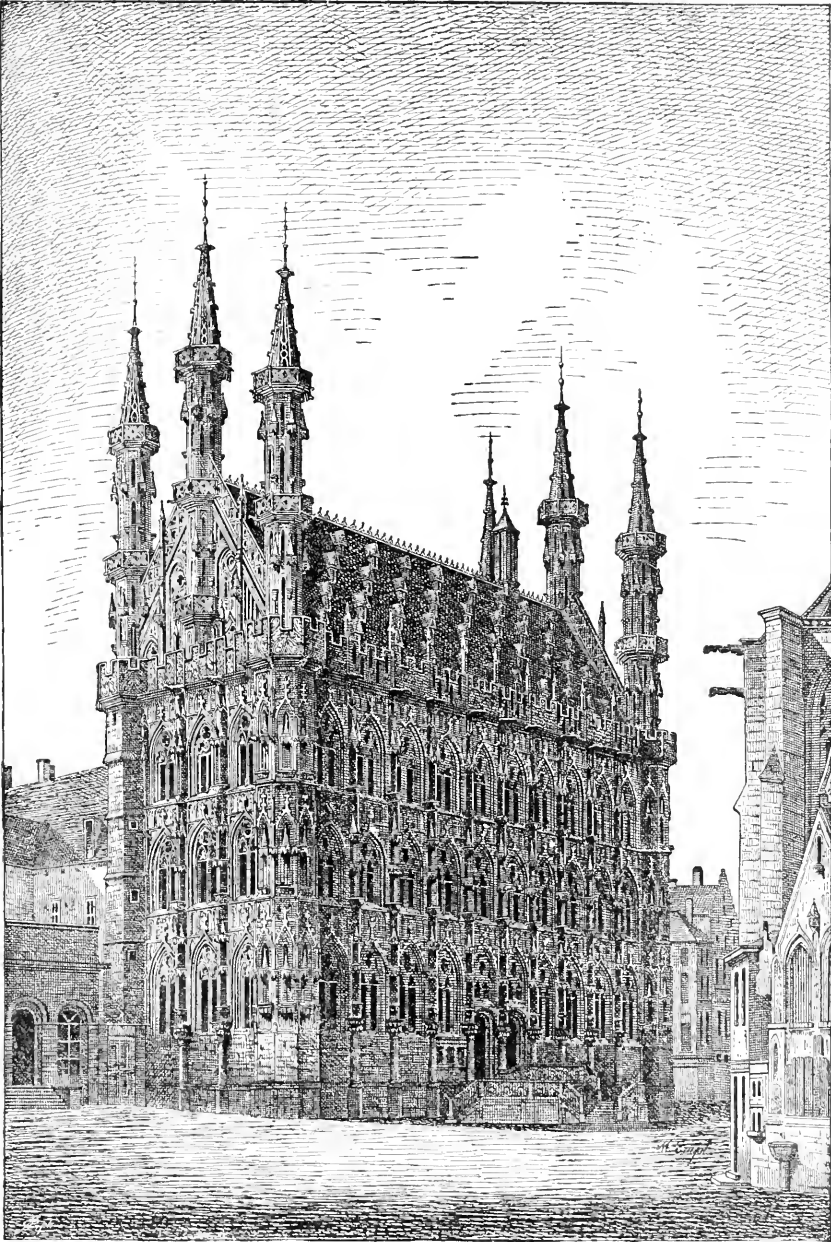


FIG. 116.—Town-hall of Louvain in Belgium; built 1448-1463. (From Förster.)

Without doubt French public opinion sided with Louis XI. He could decidedly count on the support of the people in the preparations

he made forthwith to free himself from the compact which had been forced on him at Conflans. Never, perhaps, did Louis display such cunning as in those critical years when he was bent upon regaining his practically lost position by outwitting his enemy. His first object was to enlist the cities in his cause. By lowering the taxes and by other popular measures he succeeded in Paris as well as in many other cities (Fig. 116). Hand in hand with this step went the completion of the military institutions founded by his father. The preoccupation of the Duke of Burgundy favored the plans of Louis. The duke was engaged in subjugating Liège and in taking Dinant, which he punished terribly. Meanwhile, the king drew the Duke of Brittany into his camp, and raised a troublesome enemy in him for his royal brother, Charles of Berry, who had been made Duke of Normandy. As Charles was abandoned by the League, the king could take Rouen. After the flight of his brother in 1466 he reunited Normandy to the crown. Things looked very favorable for Louis next year when Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy died, and was succeeded by his son, Charles. For now Liège rebelled; in Antwerp and Ghent the citizens also arose, while the French cities showed lively sympathy for the movement. This determined the members of the League of the Public Good to draw closer together. The king's brother and the Duke of Brittany made peace with each other. The Duke of Alençon joined the league, and England promised the Duke of Berry support for his conquest of Normandy.

Meanwhile, Charles the Bold had crushed the insurrections in his territory. Now the cause of the endangered king appeared entirely that of his people. Louis used their common hostility to feudalism in a masterly way by making a new league with them. This he did at a meeting of the States-General at Tours, in 1468. There the king declared Normandy inseparable from the French crown. He promised every possible diminution of taxes and dues, and forbade the exportation of precious metals. But, above all, the king solemnly swore to do his best, with the aid of the Estates, to restore order in the state. Together with the king, the Estates issued ordinances for the preservation of the peace. The recognition of the principle of the irremovability of judges by the king marks a great constitutional progress. In return, the Estates voted Louis XI. supplies and troops. Charles of Burgundy felt that if the French innovations held good, the days of feudalism were over. Consequently, he determined to help the League with force of arms. But before he took the field, the king had again defeated his brother, the Duke of Normandy. By the terms of the treaty which Louis made with him, the duke gave up his claims on Normandy in return for an annuity. The

Burgundian protested on the ground that it violated the terms of the Treaty of Conflans. But as Liège had again rebelled, not without the knowledge of Louis, the duke accepted his proposal to settle the pending differences at a meeting. For some unaccountable reason, Louis let



FIG. 117.—Storming of a castle. Miniature from the fifteenth century. (Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.) Under a feint of storming the castle, the main body of the besiegers enter a mine and take the enemy *maîtres*.

his chance of attacking the duke slip by, and followed the advice of his counsellors, who recommended negotiations. Although he mistrusted the king, Charles also acceded. In October, 1468, the deadly foes met at the

village of Péronne. Too late the king rued the danger to which he had exposed himself. Fearing a *coup de main* (Fig. 117), he withdrew with his train to the castle at Péronne. But that really made him the duke's captive. Charles, however, did not have the courage to go to extremes. Nevertheless, he forced a treaty on the king which humiliated him more than that of Conflans; but it was impracticable for the simple reason that it imputed moral and political suicide to Louis. As he was in his enemy's power, the king had to swear that he would carry out the treaties of Arras (see p. 293) and Conflans according to the duke's interpretation. That is, Louis had to promise to help the duke personally to subjugate Liège. Furthermore, he was to indemnify his brother with Champagne and Brie for the loss of Normandy, and to give up all feudal claims on Flanders and Picardy. That virtually made the Duke of Burgundy master of France.

Louis XI. did not for a moment think of keeping his promises; but he took his oath on everything to gain his freedom. At first, the duke still held him in his iron grasp. The king had to march to Liège with him and had to witness its plunder and destruction. The king had scarcely regained his liberty when he made his real mind known. He imprisoned the counsellors, who had induced him to go to Péronne, in cages which hardly allowed them to stretch their limbs. He robbed them of their goods, and persecuted their families and friends. Moreover, the king succeeded in drawing the Duke of Berry off from the Burgundian alliance. Instead of Champagne and Brie he gave him the richer district of Guienne. This removed him from the dangerous neighborhood of Burgundy. But Louis could not do his worst until circumstances favored his open disavowal of the Treaty of Péronne. That was impossible so long as Charles of Burgundy could count on Edward IV. of England. At that moment, Edward was suddenly dethroned by an unexpected uprising of the Lancastrians in 1470, and forced to flee to Flanders. Louis now had nothing to fear from the friendly Henry VI., whose queen was a French princess.

Louis XI. thought the moment for resolute action had come. He managed skilfully to make his cause that of the people. In the first place, the king summoned an assembly of notables, a committee of the Estates. He laid before them the duke's proceedings against him. The notables declared him free from all obligations on account of the breach of faith and the treachery of the duke. They gave him the right to confiscate all the estates which Charles the Bold had forfeited by his act. Moreover, the notables promised the king their aid in the coming war. This meeting was the signal for the outburst of a new furious conflict.

The feudal lords rose as a man to support Charles the Bold. The Duke of Guienne, Charles of Berry, once more broke faith with his brother, the king. Louis XI. was in a great dilemma, especially as Edward IV. had been restored, which threatened France with a renewed English attack.

But fortune favored the French king. In May, 1472, the Duke of Guienne died. His death was so very opportune as to give rise to the general opinion that Louis himself had caused it by poison. The Duke of Burgundy gave public expression to this belief. As Charles of Berry died without issue, Guienne reverted to the French crown. Thereby Louis at once won an unassailable position in the south of France. But it was of still greater importance to him to have the sympathies of the people; for, to escape from feudal rule, they unreservedly espoused the cause of monarchy, and this was enough to make its victory sure. The loss of Guienne already made most of the members of the League despair. With the exception of the Duke of Brittany, they made their peace with the king. But Charles the Bold rushed with redoubled violence into the fight. As Picardy and a part of Burgundy had succumbed to the unexpected French attack, Charles retaliated by wasting the neighboring lands with fire and sword. His fury vented itself on the cities because they would not follow him and desert Louis. The fear of becoming Burgundian drove the besieged all the more into the camp of the French king. To open a way to Normandy and to join the Duke of Brittany, Charles attacked the strong city of Beauvais; but after a severe siege of four weeks he had to retreat at the approach of a French army. Thereupon, Louis overthrew the Duke of Brittany by a series of quick blows, and forced him back into his old feudal relation. As he feared a French attack himself, the Duke of Burgundy made a truce in the autumn which led to a peace. France had proved too strong for him. He preferred to try his luck on his other frontier, and to round off his territory with the help and at the expense of Germany. He left his associates in the League to their fate.

Louis now overcame them with ease and punished them with brutal severity in part. The people especially approved of his treatment of the Count of Armagnac, whose mercenaries had been the terror of Southern France. In the summer of 1472, he was taken at Lectoure, and, regardless of the terms of the capitulation, was cut down with his followers and subjects. The king condemned the Duke of Alençon to death; but he was kept in prison until he died, in 1476. The Duke of Nemours was beheaded the next year. His extorted confession (Fig. 118) compromised many members of the high nobility, on whom the

vengeance of Louis fell. Many great families were thus killed off or impoverished, while their possessions added strength to the royal power. But the king enriched the faithful families with honors and lands so as to bind them to his house. He gave his elder daughter Anne to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, on whom he conferred the governorship of Guienne. Louis married his other daughter, Jeanne, who was still a child, to the youthful Louis of Orleans. With the exception of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, the king had done away with all the great crown



FIG. 118. —Taking testimony under torture. Miniature in the translation of Valerius Maximus, by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse. Manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century, in the Public Library of Breslau.

vassals and confiscated their estates. It was a blessing for France. Under the protection of a feared but just king, who was supported by closely supervised and unimpeachable judges and officials, every citizen could now pursue his calling, and prospered under the new order (Fig. 119). But Louis XI. did not give up his further plans under the influence of internal peace. The Duke of Burgundy was still to be ruined. The king went to work with the greatest shrewdness and the least danger to himself. His success was completed by the fatal mistakes which the enemy himself made.

It accorded well with the spirit of Charles the Bold that, after his defeat in France, he should seek to gratify his ambition in another

quarter and by other means. If he succeeded in uniting the Netherlands with the original Burgundian lands on the Côte-d'Or and the Jura

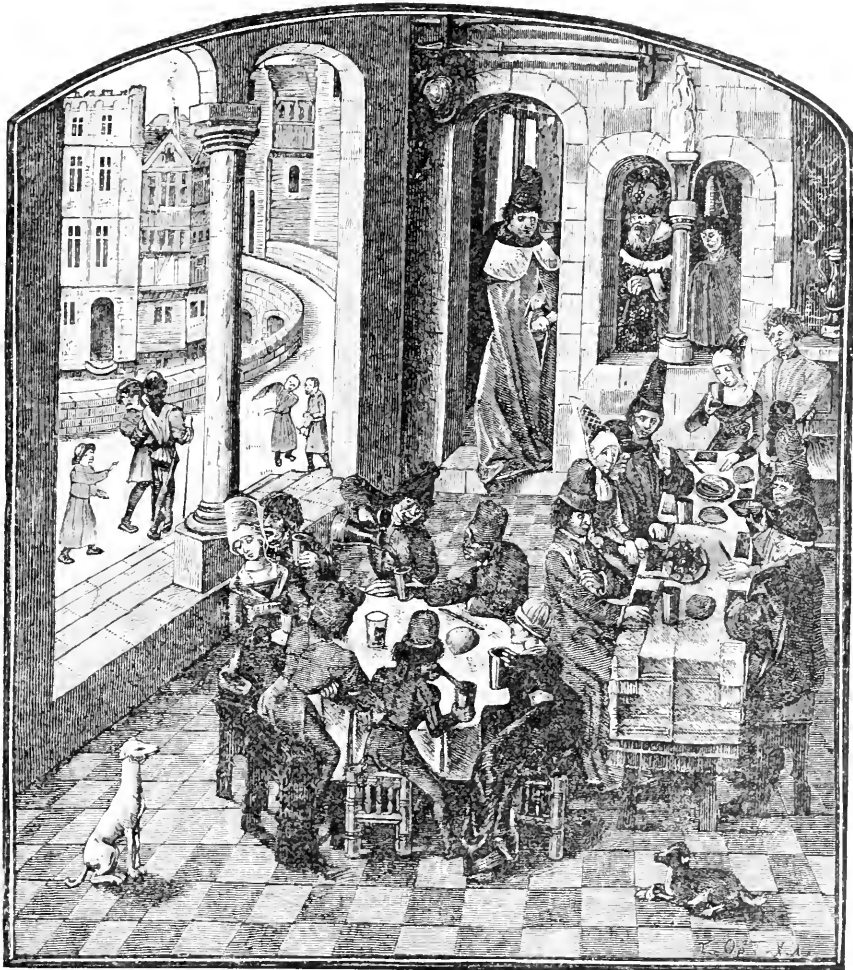


FIG. 119.—Social life in the second half of the fifteenth century. A sumptuous meal. Miniature from the translation quoted above. The work consists of two volumes of parchment manuscript, and is illuminated in the style of the Flemish school, presumably of the second half of the fifteenth century. The translation was made for Charles V. of France. It was originally in the library of the bastard Antoine de Bourgogne (1421-1501), and is now in the Public Library of Breslau.

mountains in the south, by the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine, his domains would form an extended barrier between France and Germany, a danger to both. Independent of both, his territory would be enabled by the



FIG. 120.—Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Painted by an artist of the Dutch school of the fifteenth century. (Berlin, Royal Gallery.)

help of England to play a leading part, both economically and politically. In his dynastic schemes, the duke knew that he could reckon on the weakness of Emperor Frederick III. Frederick's cousin, Archduke Sigismund of Austria, had pledged his valuable possessions in Alsace and Sundgau to Charles the Bold, so that the latter already had a very strong position there. Charles's real object appeared clearly in the policy of his governor, Peter von Hagenbach, who treated the nobility and cities simply as the subjects of his lord. The duke had not the remotest idea of giving up these mortgaged lands. Further to strengthen his position, he had frequently tried to use his heiress, Mary, for political ends; but he had never been serious in his promises. No more was he when he now tried to catch Frederick III. with this bait. His success, however, was complete. It made little difference to the emperor personally whether the Burgundian occupation of the Upper Rhine districts endangered Lorraine or Switzerland. His only thought was to aggrandize his family by a Burgundian alliance and at the expense of those lands.

For the purpose of discussing such an alliance, the two princes arranged a meeting at Treves, for September, 1473. The princes of Southern Germany in great numbers accompanied Frederick III. and Maximilian. Charles finally came with a large army, which did not fail to make an impression. He completely put the unkingly Hapsburg in the shade, which made the latter distrustful and disinclined to accept the duke's terms. They were, indeed, considerable. In the first place, Charles the Bold (Fig. 120) wished to be crowned king by the emperor. Then he sought to be made imperial vicar of the German lands on the left of the Rhine. Furthermore, he demanded the bishopric of Liège. Not content with that, he wanted also Utrecht, Tournai, and Cambrai. These territories, once granted, were naturally to serve as a basis for future operations. They would, above all, have brought Lorraine into his power. And what security did the emperor have that, after having acceded to his demands, the duke would really consent to his daughter's engagement with Maximilian (Fig. 121)? Charles for his part did not trust the emperor either. Thus endless negotiations passed between the parties. The duke pressed the emperor to crown him king at least. Frederick had to make up his mind; either he had to consent to everything or to rise to the height of an emphatic refusal. But he lacked courage for both. Consequently, he escaped from his dilemma on November 23, by secretly leaving the city with his son.

The duke was beside himself with rage. His only thought was to take revenge on the emperor. His passionate zeal indirectly favored his

immediately threatened enemies. Charles now recognized Duke René as the rightful ruler of Lorraine. In return the latter granted him free passage to Franche-Comté. Horror preceded the mercenaries of Charles on their march up the Rhine. Passing through Alsace he reached his southern dominions, where the inhabitants of Dijon received him loyally. His war with France, with which the truce expired in 1474, no longer claimed Charles's attention. The Swiss embassies, who besought him to



FIG. 121.—Medal of Maximilian I. as Duke of Austria and Burgundy, and his wife Mary of Burgundy. Obverse: MAXIMILIANVS · FR[iderici] · CAES · F[ilius] DVX · AVSTR · BVRGVND. Reverse: MARIA · KAROLI · F · DVX · BVRGVNDIAE · AVSTRIAE · BRAB · C[omitissa] · FLAN[driae]. Copper, original size. (Berlin.) The interlocked M's signify Maximilian and Mary.

spare the Alsatian cities, those of the German princes, the Venetians, the pope, and the Duke of Brittany, probably filled the duke with the idea that he could easily humiliate the decaying German empire, and then take Louis XI. to account. In eager haste he seized the opportunity which a contested election in Cologne seemed to offer him.

The Estates had in 1463 elected Rupert of the Palatinate Archbishop of Cologne; but before his election they had forced him to accept hard terms, which were to secure his electors from oppressive tolls and taxes. When he violated the articles of his capitulation, the Estates deposed him, and called in the landgrave, Hermann of Hesse, as provisional administrator. He turned to the emperor for arbitration. On the other hand, Archbishop Rupert sought aid from Charles the Bold, who eagerly took up the desired opportunity to pick a quarrel with Germany, although the peace left the Swiss free to attack him. To isolate the emperor the duke made an alliance with Edward IV. of England. This bound Edward to make an attack on Normandy and Guienne, and he looked to the conquest of all France. In return, Edward IV. as the future king of France

was to grant Charles the duchy of Bar, the counties of Champagne, Nevers, R  thel, Eu, and Guise, and the barony of Douzy. Furthermore, the king was to give him the cities on the Somme and abrogate the remaining feudal rights which still bound the duke. Covered in his rear, Charles now invaded the archbishopric of Cologne. His first step was



FIG. 122.—Plunder and rapine of Maximilian's troops in his war with Guelders. Detail from Albert D  rer's "Gate of Honor" of Maximilian.

to march to Neuss, to which Hermann of Hesse had withdrawn with 18,000 men. The Rhenish districts recognized their danger and sent help. Cologne sent most reinforcements. The outcome was the repulse of the duke's assault. He had to open a regular siege, in which he met

unexpected difficulties. A mighty besieging camp gradually grew up in front of Neuss. The whole power of Charles the Bold was centred in it. A mere *coup de main* had turned into a tedious siege, on which the



FIG. 123.—French artillery of the middle of the fifteenth century. Miniature in the Froissart manuscript of the Public Library of Breslau.

fate of Central Europe seemed to hang. The resistance which he met embittered Charles, and deprived him of his clear military and political judgment. A defeat threatened to rob him of the glamor which had

surrounded him and his military achievements in the eyes of his contemporaries. Consequently, his characteristic fierce and passionate temper overcame him, and he persisted with blind obstinacy in the affair of Neuss, although it implied a greater loss than gain under the most favorable circumstances. (For illustrations of warfare in these times see Figs. 122, 123.)

As a matter of fact, this affair did become fatal to Charles the Bold; for while he was besieging Neuss for months a very unfavorable political change took place. So unlawful an attack as his once more filled Germany with indignation. The citizens of Cologne did not tire of representing the danger which the fall of Neuss would bring on their city. With strong appeals they demanded timely help; they themselves gave large sums of money for the campaign; moreover, they negotiated a loan which offered greater means for the equipment of an army. In consequence, a general summons was issued in Germany. But considerable time naturally elapsed before the troops were assembled. Not only did Germany rise to unwonted energy, but also all the enemies of the Burgundian hastened to increase his embarrassment. Above all, Louis XI. made every effort to undermine the duke's power, so as to become his chief heir in due time. He made strenuous attempts to induce the Swiss to take up arms. As they were at peace with Frederick III., they were willing to make common cause with him against the new foe. A great coalition was forming, when Sigismund of Austria acted against the duke in another way. He advised him of the fact that the sums for which he had mortgaged his lands in Alsace and Sundgau to him were lying ready for payment at Basel. Accordingly, he demanded the restoration of those districts. Nothing could have been more inopportune for Charles the Bold. He had recourse to subterfuges and pretexts to waive Sigismund's demands for the time being. At the same time his governor, Peter von Hagenbach, redoubled his oppression, which hastened the outbreak of the revolt. The Alsatian towns, led by Strasburg and by Breisach, where Hagenbach lay captive, took to arms. The nobility and clergy, who had suffered quite as much, joined them. Archduke Sigismund was hailed as a deliverer, while Hagenbach was beheaded in the market-place of Breisach on June 9, 1474. Although now Burgundian troops appeared, while Charles remained at Neuss, they could not reduce the country to obedience again.

These events made a deep impression on the Swiss Confederation. The opposition against every sort of offensive war ceased. Large sums of money from the French king fully decided the Swiss what course to take. Thus a treaty was finally made in 1474, which placed the Swiss

soldiery at the disposal of Louis XI. for the war against Charles of Burgundy. Thereupon the Swiss declared war on him. With German reinforcements their army invaded Upper Burgundy, and, wasting and burning, marched to Héricourt and besieged it. The Swiss surprised and completely routed a Burgundian relieving host, in November, whereupon Héricourt capitulated. But then the Swiss and their allies returned home.

This single attack even was a great blow to Charles the Bold. Besides, his position before Neuss had become more and more difficult. He had not entirely succeeded in cutting off supplies from the city. Moreover, a strong German army approached, led by the emperor himself. True, it did not dare to make an attack as yet, and decided to wait for 20,000 men which the French king had promised. But Louis kept on procrastinating, meanwhile negotiating secretly with the Burgundian duke. The opposition which Louis met in the county of Roussillon from the king of Aragon, whom Charles incited, came to a temporary close on account of the succession trouble in Aragon. This secured Louis's position in the extreme south. Besides, his masterly system of espionage kept him informed about the duke's schemes, and enabled him to raise new enemies against the duke, while he himself remained in safe inactivity. Thus, Louis succeeded in inducing Duke René of Lorraine to fall off from Charles. Also, he urged the Swiss on to renew their inroads into Burgundy in the winter of 1474-1475.

It was a winter full of anxiety. It seemed that a decisive battle must occur before Neuss with the return of spring. The German army did pitch its camp opposite the Burgundians in April, 1475. Meanwhile, the French invaded Picardy and the heart of Burgundy. The Swiss overpowered the towns and castles on the Burgundian side of the Jura, especially Pontarlier and the important Granson. The Duke of Lorraine devastated Luxemburg. Finally, Charles accepted the mediation of the pope, which he had formerly refused. While secret negotiations were in progress he suddenly attacked the Germans on May 24, 1475. He inflicted severe losses on them without having attacked their camp. The emperor used the occurrence as a pretext to retreat quickly from Neuss. But such a disgrace was too much for the army to bear. Burning for the fight, they issued from the camp in single detachments to engage the Burgundians. Although much hindered thereby, the secret negotiations between Charles and Frederick III. went on, and led to an understanding at the expense of the German kingdom and honor. Before its contents became known Charles prepared for departure. As soon as the Germans noticed it, they fell upon the Burgundians while the latter

were loading their ships. A disorderly brawl ensued which ultimately led to a regular battle. The Germans suffered great losses, especially as the emperor did not even grant the fugitives the protection of his camp; for the honor of the German kingdom and nation concerned him little after he had attained his end. This he had reached in the secret treaty with Charles. It stipulated that the contested election in Cologne should be left to the arbitration of the pope, and that the Burgundian heiress should marry the emperor's son. Not a word of the compact concerned the Swiss or the Duke of Lorraine. Unprotected by the emperor, they were left to the duke's revenge.

No emperor had ever treated Germany so ignominiously. The indignation at such treachery found vent in loud abuse. Even Albert Achilles of Brandenburg (Fig. 124), who had always stood by the emperor, felt too deeply wounded as a soldier and as a prince not to turn from him indignantly. No one could calculate as yet what the results of the emperor's treachery would be. For momentarily, at least, fortune favored the Duke of Burgundy. Edward IV. of England had landed at Calais to invade France. But this scheme of conquest was realized as little as the promise of Charles to crown his brother-in-law king at Rheims. As Edward IV. soon saw his advance impeded, he was glad to accept the terms of peace which Louis XI. offered him. The two kings met at Picquigny on the Somme, and made a treaty. Edward gave up his claims to the French crown in return for an indemnity for the war and an annuity. Charles did not protest; for Louis left his allies, the Duke of Lorraine and the Swiss, to their fate, just as the emperor had done. The Burgundian took advantage of his opportunity. In September, 1475, he concluded a nine years' truce with the French king at Solothurn. He was now rid of both French and German interference. Without any display of diplomatic skill on his part, but chiefly through the selfishness of his allies, Charles the Bold saw the great league against him dissolve. Now the Swiss and René of Lorraine might look for their safety. As soon as Switzerland and Lorraine were Burgundian the duke could hope that his other far-reaching plans would take care of themselves.

He was bent on taking revenge on Sigismund of Austria and the Swiss, the more thoroughly as they had invaded Upper Burgundy and the Pays de Vaud in ignorance of the political change. They had conquered the land between the Jura and the Lake of Neuchâtel with unnecessary cruelty. Garrisons at Murten and Yverdon were to secure the important frontier to the Swiss. The duke considered this a mortal insult. All his thoughts centred on dealing a destructive blow to the



FIG. 121.—Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, in the armor preserved in the Castle of Ambras.
From an engraving in a work on the collection of arms at Ambras, issued in 1602.

breakers of the peace. He collected his army in Besançon. When he descended with his 50,000 men from the Jura passes to Murten the Swiss quailed. They hastened to avert the attack by offering terms of peace. They declared themselves willing not only to surrender their conquests, but also to make a compact with the duke about furnishing him regularly with mercenaries. Naturally the duke rejected their overtures. In February, 1476, he invaded the Pays de Vaud to chastise the Bernese; for he had not forgotten their attack during the siege of Neuss. The inhabitants of Bern directly sent a reconnoitering corps into the neighborhood of Murten, while they urgently requested help from the Confederacy. But instead of routing them before reinforcements could arrive, Charles wished first to occupy the town of Granson on the northwestern end of the lake of Neuchâtel. But his assault on February 18 failed. After a siege of three days the city fell, and shortly after the citadel capitulated. Charles deliberately broke the terms of the surrender by having the brave garrison hanged,—an act of violence that put an end to all thoughts of negotiation on the part of the Swiss.

Meanwhile, reinforcements had raised the numbers of the Swiss army to 20,000. Strasburg, Basel, and the Alsatian nobility had also sent some troops (Fig. 125). When the army heard of the fall of Granson they broke up camp and marched along the lake of Neuchâtel to the plain between the lake and the Jura mountains. To cover his advance Charles had sent 400 men ahead, who had garrisoned Vauxmarens. Regardless of this manoeuvre, the Swiss continued their march southward. On March 2, 1476, Charles heard of their approach. He left his camp at Granson hastily, and advanced to meet the foe. The lie of the land gave the advantage to the duke, who held an almost impregnable defensive position. But it seemed infamous to him to restrict himself to the defensive, on account of his eagerness for battle and the haughtiness of his knights, who looked down on their boorish antagonists. Charles therefore resolved to attack the troops. His resolution proved fatal. The Swiss were drawn up in several squares which opposed the enemy with an impregnable forest of lances. Between these squares they had drawn up their cannon. They repulsed the first attack. On account of its unfavorable position the Burgundian artillery had no effect. Nor did the narrowness of the field allow the duke's cavalry to develop its strength. Charles saw his mistake, and sought to make it good by retreating to the broader plain to the south; but the Swiss no sooner perceived his purpose than they opened the attack, attempting also to surround the foe. Not until the battle-horn of Uri resounded on their flank did the Bur-



FIG. 125.—Knight and horse in magnificent armor. German work of the end of the fifteenth century. Imperial collection of arms in Tsarskoi-Selo.

gundians appreciate their situation. The enemy which closed on them from the heights threatened them with destruction. The greatest confusion ensued. In vain Charles tried to stay the fugitives by slashing

right and left with his sword. His army fled in disorder to the range of the Jura, and their camp with its rich booty fell into the hands of the Swiss. They took terrible revenge on the garrison of Vauxmarcus for the outrage at Granson.



FIG. 126.—Miniature of the fifteenth century, from the Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau. In the foreground a king sends off a messenger from the vestibule of a royal castle. The page of the latter is holding his horse and a spear. The background shows a large street. At the nearer end a royal official is reading a royal mandate from a raised platform to the assembled citizens.

The defeat at Granson altered the whole position of Charles for the worse. Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, with whom he had just made an alliance, broke it off, disappointed. Louis XI. was glad beyond measure. True to his policy of equivocation, he issued from Lyons, where he was

then residing, hearty congratulations to the Swiss. At the same time he sent a message of condolence to the Duke of Burgundy (Fig. 126). Charles, however, was much more hurt by the blow than was generally believed. Still, he had only one object, to take terrible revenge as soon as possible. In feverish haste he tried to collect the necessary means. Indeed, only three months after his defeat, he could appear in the field again with 40,000 men. He was determined to crush Bern in particular. That city was in great straits. For, according to custom, the troops of the Confederation had returned home after the battle of Granson. Only the Bernese had left a garrison under Adrian von Bubenbergh in Murten at the north end of the lake of Neuchâtel. Their confederates showed little inclination to give them the needed help. Murten, they said, lay in the Pays de Vaud, outside of the confederate territory. Should Bern or Freiburg be attacked, they would forthwith appear in the field. After urgent and repeated appeals, however, they promised help. Naturally, it took some time before they could muster. In the meantime, Charles began the siege of Murten on June 9, 1476. After a siege of almost a fortnight, the Swiss came to its relief, under the Bernese, Hans von Hallwyl. Taught by his experience at Granson, and dreading an attack from the town, the duke concluded to remain on the defensive. To prevent flanking, he had protected his front by an obstruction which was guarded by a ditch. Behind its approach, which admitted only four horses abreast, the duke had placed his artillery. In its rear, the massive columns of the infantry stood, while the cavalry held the flanks. Nevertheless, the Swiss attacked this strong position, shouting the battle-cries, "Granson! Granson!" The Burgundian cannon and the storm of cavalry beat back the Swiss with heavy losses; but Hallwyl had already prepared to flank the enemy. When his detachment fell upon the unsuspecting Burgundian right flank and threw it into confusion, the main Swiss force made a simultaneous attack on the enemy's front. They carried it, and mowed down the Burgundians with their own cannon. The flight of their van made the duke's troops waver. Notwithstanding, they stood the attack for some time. But when the garrison of Murten fell on their rear, they finally turned in flight. The Swiss perpetrated a horrible massacre on the fugitives.

For the second time Charles the Bold returned home totally defeated. He had lost fully half of his army; he had sacrificed an enormous number of lives, quantities of munitions, and great sums of money; an unfavorable reaction at home threatened. But in conformity with his indomitable spirit of revenge, the duke was still bent on humiliating the Swiss. When, however, he demanded new supplies, the estates of Burgundy and the Neth-

erlands declared their inability to grant them. They advised the discontinuance of the foreign war, promising to do their utmost in warding off an attack on Burgundy. Justifiable as their position was, it made no impression on Charles. He raised means enough in his impoverished land to collect and arm an army, less than a year after his defeat. But for the present he had to postpone the attack on Switzerland, and turn to another quarter; for meanwhile Duke René of Lorraine had again taken the field, and had rapidly reconquered his land. Charles marched against him. He was soon master of Lorraine, and René had to flee again; but his town of Nancy promised him to hold out until his return, and resisted Charles bravely when he besieged it. René, however, failed to get support from Louis XI. and Frederick III. The same fate threatened him in Switzerland; but finally, he carried his point in so far that he was allowed to hire those Swiss who were willing to enter his service. The Confederation, as such, stood aloof. Consequently, by the end of 1476 René had collected only 8000 men in Basel. The Hapsburg possessions, Alsace and the Upper Rhine towns, sent him about 7000 men. With these he could march to the relief of Nancy.

On January 4, 1477, he appeared on the heights of St. Nicholas, two miles from his capital. Charles thought he still had time to capture it; but treachery already lurked within his ranks. Nicolo Campobasso, the leader of his Italian mercenaries, was in communication with the enemy. Charles was told of it in confidence, but declined to look into the matter, because he felt sure of victory. Meanwhile, however, Campobasso made a compact with Duke René. Even Charles's faithful generals dissuaded him from an attack, in view of the unconquished city. Although his army had been greatly reduced by disease, the duke did not take their advice. He decided to stake his all on a last attempt. On the night of January 4, he made an assault on Nancy, but it failed. Nevertheless, he drew up the next morning in front of the enemy. His left flank rested on the *Memrthe*. His front, with 30 cannon, was protected by a ditch, the upper part of which, strengthened by a thicket, covered his right flank. But at this very point the enemy overwhelmed him. By crossing a brook, the Swiss division reached a height which commanded the right flank of the Burgundians. Thence they surprised the enemy by a sudden attack on its flank and rear. In spite of the disorder into which this threw the Burgundians, they resisted bravely. Charles outshone them all. But then the inhabitants of Nancy sallied out and set the enemy's camp on fire. All order vanished, and the Burgundians soon broke in headlong flight. But here they also met obstacles. Campobasso suddenly raised the banner of Lorraine, and

arrested the fugitives. Thousands were cut down by their pursuers. Charles had been carried along by the flight. In taking a ditch his horse fell, and he was killed without being recognized.

On January 6, Duke René of Lorraine entered his capital, where he had his enemy buried with due rites. Charles V. of Germany later entombed him at Bruges at the side of his daughter, Mary. The death of the restless conqueror caused the separation of his dominions. Burgundy proper, *i. e.*, the duchy, reverted to the French crown. Louis XI. would gladly have seized the rich Netherlands, too. But Frederick III. and Maximilian soon appeared there to make good the claims of the latter as the bridegroom of the Burgundian heiress, Mary (see PLATE XVII.). Their wedding took place by proxy in April, 1477, and on August 18 Maximilian celebrated it in person in Ghent. But Louis XI. contested the possession of the Netherlands for some years. Not until Maximilian had defeated Louis at Guinegate in 1479 did he gain full possession of the Netherlands. Finally, the pope brought about a peace. In 1482 Mary died, in consequence of a fall at the chase, after she had borne her husband two children, Philip and Margaret. As the former's regent, Maximilian became embroiled in bitter conflicts with the Estates. At the urgent request of Flanders and Brabant he had to make a treaty with Louis XI. at Arras. His daughter, Margaret, was affianced to the dauphin and was brought to the French court to be educated. In return, Louis XI. withdrew his support from the recalcitrant Flemings and Brabonçons, so that they had to submit to Maximilian's regency.

In spite of the family alliance between the Valois and the Hapsburgs, their antagonism increased, and laid the foundation for their later protracted rivalry. At the moment, France seemed to have the advantage; for while Germany was being torn by territorial and constitutional conflicts, France had become a unified state, capable of influencing foreign affairs. By the death of King René and his son, the Count of Maine, Louis had won their hereditary lands, and among them Provence with Marseilles. Still, from year to year the king had become more solitary and gloomy. Dreaded by all, he led a wretched existence, which stands in affecting contrast to his historical importance and his services to France. No one mourned Louis XI. when he died, on August 30, 1483. Though his character may not attract our sympathies, Louis XI. was the creator of a new era for France. His unscrupulous despotism destroyed the mediæval state and made room for the new age. Under his care trade and commerce raised the French cities to unexpected prosperity. Louis XI. (Fig. 127) was the first king to introduce regular postal arrangements in France. He also founded fairs and markets, and protected the

guilds and fraternities. His rule made possible the military policy of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. after they had overthrown the last attempt of the feudal reaction.

As Louis's successor, Charles VIII. (1483-1498), was only eight years old, the regency fell to his energetic older sister, Anne de Beaujeu. She won the favor of the people by annulling some of the late king's tyrannical measures and removing his counsellors. In consequence, she roused the opposition of her brother-in-law, Duke Louis of Orleans, who claimed the first place beside the throne. He allied himself with the opposition of the nobles, who presented a number of demands at Tours in 1484, the acceptance of which would have condemned monarchy and restored the rule of the nobility. But their demands were rejected.



FIG. 127.—Medal with the bust of Louis XI. (Berlin.)

Therefore they resorted to conspiracy. Duke Francis II. of Brittany, who had English help, took part in the movement, which counted on German support. But the regent Anne held her own against this attack also. A third rising in 1487 jeopardized the royal power in the south as well as in Brittany, relying, as the latter did, on the promised attack of Maximilian. But monarchy completely triumphed again. On his majority, Charles VIII. became lord of his dominions by his circumspect and energetic policy. He reconciled his former opponents, who fully recognized his authority. Now he could carry out his high-flying schemes of conquest. This brought him into conflict with Maximilian. The latter also had a bitter personal grudge against Charles; for in

1491 he had married Anne of Brittany, who had already been married to Maximilian by proxy. Moreover, the French king had sent Margaret of Hapsburg, whom Charles was to marry by the terms of the treaty of Arras of 1482, back to Austria. However, Maximilian could not gain his point, and had to be content with receiving back Margaret's dowry, Franche-Comté, and Artois, which France restored by the treaty of Senlis in 1493. Soon afterward the two enemies came to blows again in Italy. But Charles VIII. could not make good his first successes. After his death the crown fell to his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, who was called Louis XII. (1498-1515). For political reasons he dissolved his first marriage and wedded his forerunner's widow, to secure her lands definitely (cf. PLATE XX.). In his youth Louis had been a champion of feudal reaction; but when he became king he showed himself a worthy representative of royal rights and duties. He greatly improved the judiciary and organized the council of state; he removed a number of abuses by popular measures. Thus he prepared France to concentrate her forces on the conquest of Italy. The simultaneous decline of England essentially furthered these schemes of Louis.



Coronation Progress of Anne of Brittany.

Miniature from the description of the queen's coronation at St. Denis, by Andry de la Vigne. (Berlin.

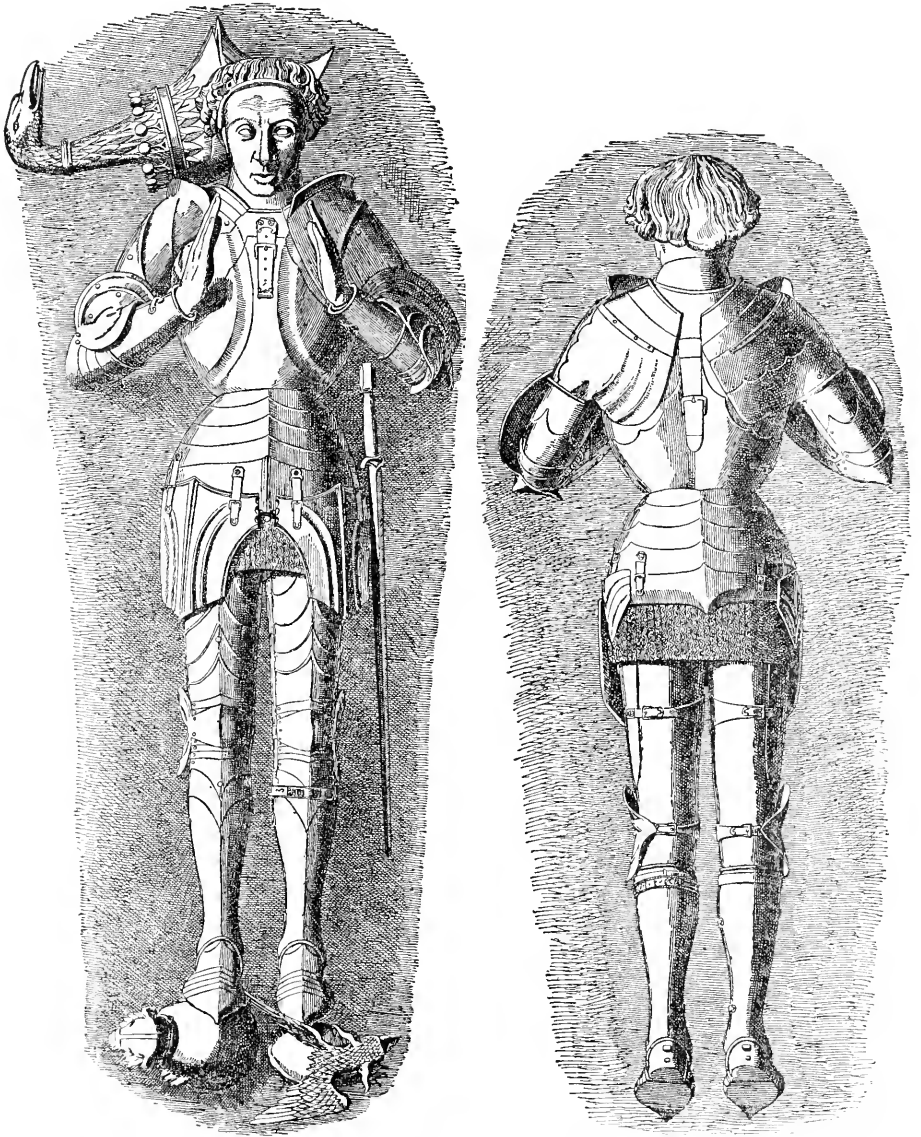
CHAPTER XIV.

ENGLAND DURING THE WARS OF THE 'ROSES.

(A. D. 1422-1509.)

THE great progress which England made under the short but glorious reign of Henry V. soon gave way after his death to a rapid decline at home and abroad. The opposition rose with new energy. Even the military successes of Henry V. had only quieted, but not reconciled the antagonism of the parties which had raged since the elevation of the house of Lancaster to the English throne. The union of the French and English crowns was no longer favored by the majority of the nation. Its evil results were doubly felt since the minor, Henry VI., was to wear both crowns. It required a stronger hand than that of the regency to keep off the foreign enemy, maintain the English conquests in France, and quell the rising opposition at home. Henry V. had transferred the management of the Hundred Years' War to his brother, the Duke of Bedford. The reconciliation of Burgundy with Charles VII. (see p. 221) soon put a stop to the success of English arms in France. The rise of the French nation under the influence of Jeanne d'Arc forced the English into a defensive position. Their meagre success made the war more and more disliked at home. Their affairs looked still worse. The Duke of Gloucester, who was regent, soon fell out with his younger brother, Cardinal Henry of Winchester. He succeeded in winning the greatest influence over the young king. Parties grew up among the nobility which corresponded to the dissension in the royal house. The majority of Henry VI. did not promise a better rule.

Under such circumstances, the demand for peace grew stronger among the English. Finally the exhaustion of England made it imperative. Henry wished himself rid of his troublesome uncles of Gloucester and Winchester, so that he might lead a life of undisturbed pleasure with his favorites. Thus a truce came about in 1444. Steps were taken to turn it into a peace by the marriage of the English king with the passionate and ambitious Margaret of Anjou, a daughter of Duke René of Bar and Lorraine. The appearance of the queen made a thorough change at court. Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester



FIGS. 128, 129.—English armor of the first third of the fifteenth century. Front and back view of the effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439; from his tomb at St. Mary's, Warwick. (From Stothard.) This nobleman was famous for his feats at tournaments: he was present at the coronation of Henry V. of England, was at the Council of Constance in 1414, and travelled extensively in France, Italy, Palestine, Russia, Lithuania, and Germany.

lost their influence. Margaret shared the direction of Henry VI. with William de la Pole, the son of a London merchant, who was made Earl of Suffolk. William was soon loaded with honors and dignities, and became the leading personage at court. This only caused the more displeasure, as the renewed war with France turned out to England's disadvantage.

Public opinion, which after all did not wish to give up the hereditary national conflict with France, attributed the English defeats to the French sympathies of the queen and her all-powerful favorite. When the king made him Earl of Suffolk, the embittered opposition demanded a sacrifice. In 1450 the Lower House impeached Suffolk, and the Upper House gave him up to the general hatred. Although his guilt was not proved, he was banished for five years. But after he had set out from Dover, some of his special enemies pursued him. They captured him, and dragged him upon their vessel, where they killed him in pursuance of a mock death-sentence. Some of his associates met a similar fate. The royal authority had sunken terribly. The unsuccessful renewal of the French war increased the internal difficulties. The people felt disappointed at the progress of the Lancastrian rule. How far the dissatisfaction had spread is clear from the success of a young Irish adventurer named Jack Cade, when he proclaimed himself a natural son of that Earl of March who had been the rightful heir to the throne after the death of Richard II. At the head of a considerable force Cade invaded Kent; but he was defeated and killed on his advance on London. Such events were the more serious in view of the great number of unemployed mercenaries from France, who filled the land. They took service with anyone willing to pay them. The higher nobility often enlisted them, thus increasing the evil called *maintenance*. It ruined the old military system, and filled England with a lawless band ever ready to strike a blow.

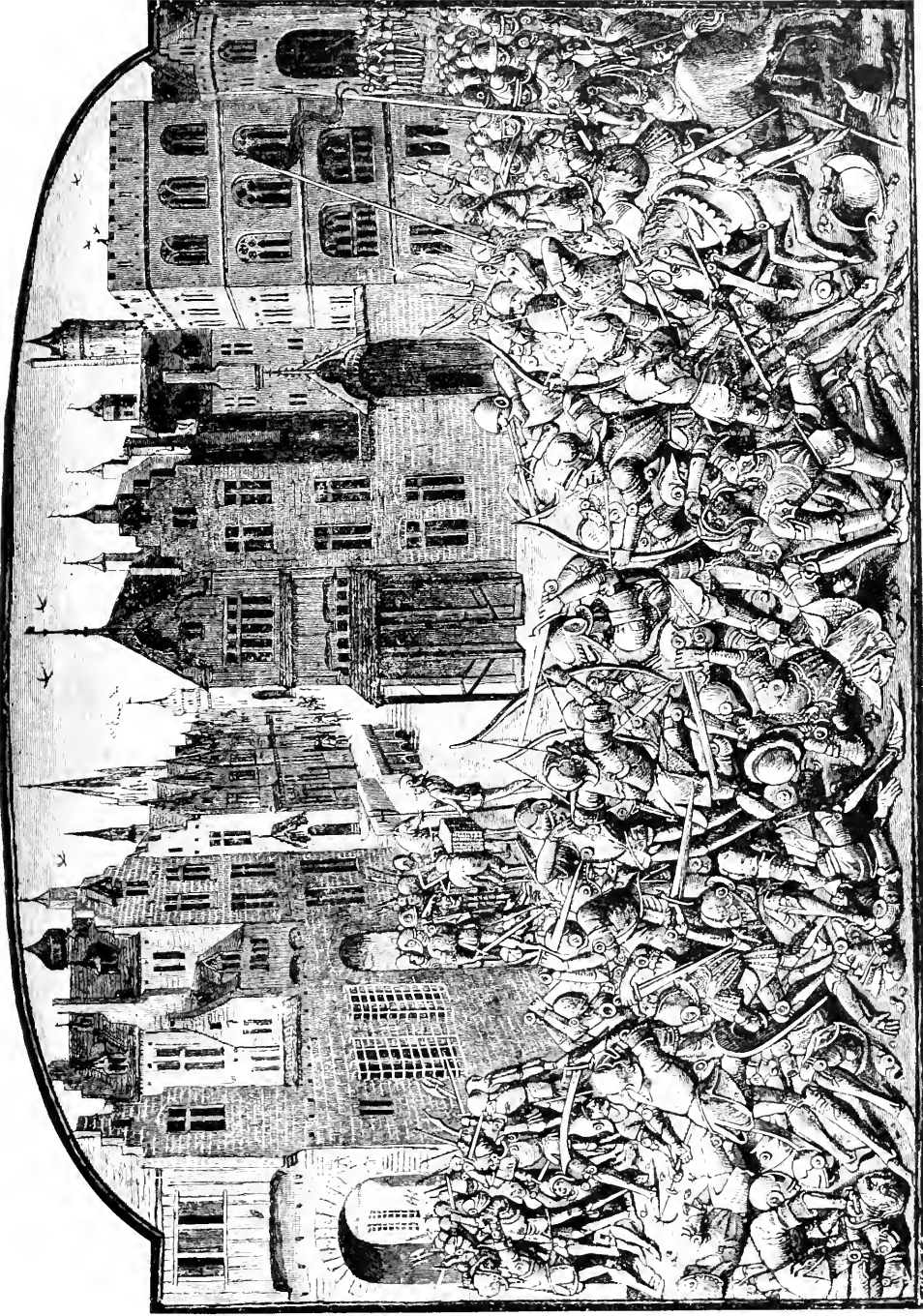
About this time the claims which the house of York made on the throne, as against the less entitled Lancastrians, first took shape. The wavering Lancastrian rule caused the ambitious Duke Richard of York to raise claims which were highly contestable. The increasing confusion into which the weakness of Henry VI. threw the kingdom, put York in the deceptive light of a saviour of his country; for his hereditary claims as such could not have allured the people to support them. The matter lay as follows: Edward III. had had four sons; the Duke of York, the present pretender, was the son of the fourth of these. Now neither the Lancastrians nor the Yorkists had had a legitimate claim to the throne, as against Richard II.; consequently, on his death, the earls

of March would have been next in the succession, provided that the female line was capable of succeeding. If this was the case, then indeed, after the extinction of the house of the aforesaid earls, the house of York would have had prior claims to that of Lancaster; for the mother of Richard of York had been a sister of the last Earl of March. It appears from this how involved matters were from the standpoint of hereditary right. It was, in fact, not a question of a generally recognized legal theory, or its contradiction, which led to the Wars of the Roses. Their real cause lay in the change in the political, social, and economic relationships in England, which led up to a great upheaval. During this catastrophe feudalism succumbed to monarchy, and this, in connection with the middle class, ruled England in the future.

As in the case of Richard II., the weakness and favoritism of Henry VI. increased the power of the barons. The Duke of Gloucester, who opposed the king, had been swept away in 1447. The end of Suffolk and his companions showed the rotten condition of the English state, and made the lower nobility and citizens fear a feudal reaction. Richard of York relied on these elements for support in his ambitious schemes. The sympathies of the Londoners were, therefore, his. In 1453 he took his first decided measures. He had chosen his time well. For the English had been routed at Castillon and their last general, Talbot, had fallen. Thereupon, the national ill-will of the people against the Lancastrians blazed up. All the enemies of the favorite, the Earl of Somerset, and the queen declared for the hereditary claims of the Duke of York. The latter had come in 1450 from Ireland, which he governed, and his claims soon gave the signal for armed resistance¹ (PLATE XXI.). In the midst of this confusion Henry VI. was disabled by an attack of insanity. Against the legitimacy of his son, Edward, who was born about this time, evil tongues raised such doubts as to make the intention of deposing the Lancastrians quite clear. York seemed to have reached his aim. For in January, 1454, the House of Lords appointed him Protector. Somerset and the other favorites had to give way, and the hopes of the great feudal lords were annihilated. But this arrangement did not last long; for the next year Henry's condition improved so much that he could begin to rule again. York was too shrewd to give expression to his ultimate designs just then. He withdrew for a time. His enemies, however, continued to play into his hands. The old order returned, with Somerset and the other favorites of Margaret.

Thereupon, Richard of York took to arms to make good his sup-

¹Open hostilities did not begin at this time. War was averted in 1452 by the king's promise that York should be admitted to the council. It finally broke out in 1455.—*Tr.*



Street Fight in London.

Fifteenth Century miniature in the Froissart manuscript of the Public Library of Breslau
History of Art Nations, Vol. A., page 325

posed right to the English throne. The Wars of the Roses, which lasted thirty years, thus began. The Yorkists wore the white rose, and the Lancastrians the red. On May 21, 1455, York won a victory at St. Albans chiefly through the prowess of his nephew, the Earl of Warwick. The hated Somerset fell in the battle. A fresh attack of the king's disease gave the House of Lords the desired pretext to proclaim York as Protector again. But, although this legalized his power, the Lancastrians only awaited a favorable opportunity for a new rising. The desired change came when, in 1456, the return of the king's sanity once more made an end to York's protectorate. The adherents of the Lancastrians returned to the possession of power. The king brought about a solemn reconciliation at St. Paul's in March, 1458. But neither party considered it as binding. The haughty Earl of Warwick, indeed, made every effort to force a new conflict. As the governor of Calais he plundered the ships of all nations. Threatened by the court in consequence, he took up arms in 1459, together with his father, the Earl of Salisbury. He was successful at first, but had to give way to the superior force of the enemy, as had the Duke of York. But as Henry VI. did not make use of his advantage, York and Warwick appeared again in England in 1460. The southern counties, and especially London, welcomed them. On June 10 they defeated the king at Northampton. Henry VI. was captured, while the queen and her son, Edward, escaped to Scotland. But however much the people in Parliament were wrought up against the queen, whom they considered the partisan of France, they still shrank back from the deposition of Henry VI., which York now demanded. They scrupled to execute an act which would only repeat a precedent which might become very hazardous for the kingdom. As a result, the House of Lords had recourse to a subterfuge which was no less questionable, indeed, but which had the consent of Henry VI. They decided that he should remain king, but that the Duke of York should succeed him to the exclusion of Edward, the Prince of Wales.

To defend the rights of her son, Queen Margaret continued the war from her retreat in Scotland and with the aid of the northern English counties. When the pretender marched against her, he was severely defeated at Wakefield on December 30, 1460. The Duke of York was taken, and forced to witness the execution of his second son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, whereupon he himself was executed. Adorned with a paper crown, his head was fixed, with those of Salisbury and Rutland, above one of the gates of York. After the battle of Wakefield, Margaret marched to London. Warwick hastened to intercept her, but was defeated at the second battle of St. Albans on February 17, 1461.

Henry VI. escaped through the rout and was again saluted as king. Margaret did not dare to attack London and the other Yorkist cities.



FIG. 130.—An audience of noblemen with the Prince and Princes of Wales. Miniature from the fifteenth century Froissart manuscript in the Public Library of Breslau.

She turned to the north again. The split between the feudal north and the *bourgeois* south threatened to continue. It was a great error on the queen's part to make this possible, an error for which her party had soon

to suffer. For in the south Edward, the son of Richard of York, followed in his father's footsteps. He was victorious in Wales (Fig. 130) and joined forces with Warwick. In March, 1461, he was received with pomp in London, and recognized as the heir of the Yorkist rights to the throne. As King Edward IV., he marched north and defeated his antagonists at Towton, near York, on March 28. The queen and her son had a narrow escape to Scotland, whence she continued the contest for two years. Finally she became convinced of its futility and escaped to the Netherlands. Thence she went to France, while her spouse was locked up in the Tower of London by the victor.

England finally enjoyed restored order. The people were well pleased to see the predominance of the feudal rule broken. This temper was favorable to Edward IV. (1461-1483). In spite of the questionable origin of his power, his knightly bearing and winning manner, with all his imperiousness, made his rule popular. Parliament yielded to his will. But he undermined his position. Passionately enamored of the widow of a Lancastrian nobleman, Elizabeth Grey, he married her. Then he gave her and her relatives such an influence that it drove Warwick to open rebellion. Warwick, to further his schemes, won the king's younger brother, the Duke of Clarence, who was the next heir, as Edward had no children then, and married him to one of his daughters; then, with Clarence, entered into negotiations with Queen Margaret. Her son, Edward, was also married to one of Warwick's daughters. The partisans of the dethroned house were advised to be in readiness for action. But Edward persisted in his careless security, and continued to estrange his adherents from himself by favoring the hated Greys. Consequently, the scheme of Warwick and Margaret, which Louis XI. of France favored in opposition to the Duke of Burgundy, was completely successful. In the autumn of 1470 Warwick landed with the queen and his son-in-law and proclaimed Henry VI. king. The first turncoats were the relatives of Elizabeth Grey, who held important military posts. Edward IV. escaped to the Netherlands, to raise from his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, the means to win back his crown. Henry VI. sat on the throne again, a mere tool in the hands of Warwick and Margaret. Naturally, the victorious party took possession of all the offices and dignities. However, the revolution was less bloody than its predecessors. The servile Parliament hastened to condemn the rule of the house of York as a usurpation.

The new glory of the house of Lancaster was of but short duration. In March, 1471, Edward IV. landed at Ravenspur with an army. He maintained that he had not come to win back his crown, but only to get

possession of his duchy. He recognized the rights of Henry VI. and the Prince of Wales in an unambiguous manner; but when his old adherents, among them Clarence, fell off to him, he gradually set his demands higher. London again acclaimed him. He arrested Henry VI., who had to follow him as a hostage when he marched against Warwick, who was on his way to London. A battle was fought at Barnet, on April 14, 1471, which ended in the complete defeat of the Yorkists. Among the numerous dead was Warwick, the "king-maker." No one mourned his death. The unity of the Lancastrians seemed again guaranteed. But a new misfortune soon approached. About the time of the battle of Barnet, Margaret had landed at Weymouth. She wished to enlist the northern counties in her husband's and her son's behalf. Therefore, Edward IV. hurried thither and inflicted a severe defeat on her at Tewkesbury, on May 4, 1471. He had every one cut down who fell into his power, so as to make a future rising impossible. Then he secured London. Henry VI. was killed in the Tower, presumably by Edward's youngest brother, Richard of Gloucester. The Red Rose could no longer offer resistance to the pretender. He therefore released Queen Margaret, in 1474, at the request of Louis XI. of France, and let her return to that country. Many other Lancastrians took refuge there.

For some time the bloody persecution, by which Edward IV. decimated his enemies by means of trials for treason, lasted. He robbed them of their possessions, and exiled those whom he spared. Thus he got a fifth of the soil of England into his hands, while outwardly preserving the form of law. Meanwhile, he instituted a reign of terror to which the helpless Yorkists fell a prey. Even the parliamentary right of consent to taxation no longer held good. In mute subserviency the nation hastened to satisfy the king's demands by making so-called voluntary grants or "benevolences."

The rule of Edward IV. was baneful in other directions, too. His plan of wiping out the memory of the origin of his power by winning glory abroad was crossed by the ill-directed policy of the Duke of Burgundy (see p. 310). Above all, his own family endangered the king's position. He had never forgiven his brother Clarence for the league he had made with Warwick. On the other hand, the former aimed at an independent position and bore his brother ill-will because he had not received a part of his father-in-law's, Warwick's, land. Other causes increased this bitter feeling, which led to an accusation of high treason against Clarence. He was condemned to death, and died in the Tower. The king now became anxious about his succession. It was fatal, indeed,

that on the death of Edward IV., in 1483, his son Edward was only twelve years old. The right to conduct the regency fell to the Lancastrian queen-widow. But the late king's youngest brother, Richard of Gloucester, had no intention of conceding this power to the relatives of the queen. He aimed at it himself.

That began the final act in the great national tragedy of the English Wars of the Roses. A perfect hypocrite, filled with a cynical unscrupulousness and a diabolical lust of power, Richard of Gloucester now boldly demanded not only the regency, but also the succession. While the queen's relatives intended the regency for her brother, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, Richard placed the young king in the Tower, presumably for safe-keeping. Then he made the council proclaim him Protector, and destroyed all the great barons in turn, until all his rivals had



FIG. 131.—Silver groat of Richard III. Original size. Obverse: RICARD . DI . GRA . REX . ANGL . (then contraction for et) FRANC . Reverse: POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE[m] . MEVM. In the inner circle—CIVITAS LONDON. (Berlin.)

fallen. By skilful agitation and threats he forced the clergy and a part of the Londoners to make believe that they wished him as king. He reached his end by denying the legitimacy of Edward V. Thus he was crowned king, on July 5, 1483. The sons of Edward were presently killed in the Tower. The attempt of the Duke of Buckingham to put a stop to Richard's tyranny by force of arms ended in his execution. Every hope of deliverance seemed gone, although the son whom Queen Anne bore Richard III. (Fig. 131) soon died, to be soon followed by his mother; for the king planned nothing less than to marry his own niece, the daughter of Elizabeth Grey and the sister of the murdered princes. Thus he would unite the claims of the Yorkists to the throne with his own.

But meanwhile, the enemies of his tyranny increased. Moreover, Richard's growing suspicions also thinned the ranks of his adherents, who swelled the number of fugitives. A scion of the house of Lancaster led the new party. It was Henry Tudor, the son of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, who had sprung from the second marriage of Catharine of France with a Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor, and of Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt. In June, 1485, Richmond landed at Milford Haven in Wales with 3000 men. Many flocked to his standard. The king resolved on prompt action. He met Richmond on

Bosworth Field, on August 22, 1485. When the desertion of the Stanleys made defeat inevitable, Richard died bravely in the midst of the carnage. The victors took the crown which he had worn in battle and put it on Richmond's head.

Not content with thus winning the crown, Henry VII. (Fig. 132) had the subservient Parliament recognize his title to the throne and ensure the



FIG. 132.—Seal of Henry VII. of England. (Berlin.)

succession of his family. What that title was would have puzzled the keenest controversialist. Therefore, Parliament was content with granting the crown anew, as it were, and thereby it avoided conferring it on one of the contesting parties as belonging to it *co ipso*. The crown was to be the means of reconciling the last Lancaster to the house of York. This found outward expression in Henry's marriage with the last descendant of the Yorks, Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. The

manner of his succession determined the character of the rule of Henry VII. (1485–1509). Although rebellions continued to endanger his rule, internal peace reigned on the whole. True, the disappearance of some of the younger members of the house of York gave pretenders an opportunity to come to the front. Thus, in 1407, an ambitious priest proclaimed the son of an Oxford tradesman, Lambert Simnel, as the son of the Duke of Clarence. Simnel gained considerable support; but after the defeat of his allies he was put out of harm's way as a turnspit in Henry's kitchen. The attempt of Perkin Warbeck, who personated the Duke of York, was more successful at first, but he was finally executed. The strong rule of Henry VII. averted further evil. He introduced a strict police system, and in the Court of Star Chamber he erected an exceptional tribunal which was to try all cases of unlawful assemblies and riots, and, in short, every sort of interference with justice.¹ It applied a procedure peculiar to itself. Parliament remained subservient, so that the Tudor rule was strong and unlimited from the beginning. Feudalism had fallen in ruins, and the third estate in league with the monarchy rose to be the future power in England.

¹ The new court only revived, in part, the criminal authority of the old King's Council. It examined into every sort of force or intrigue which stopped the course of justice in the public courts. It was so called either because the roof of the chamber in which the court sat was decorated with stars, or because it was the room in which Jewish bonds or *starres* had formerly been kept.—TR.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RISE OF SPAIN AND THE CHANGE IN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH THE GREAT GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES.

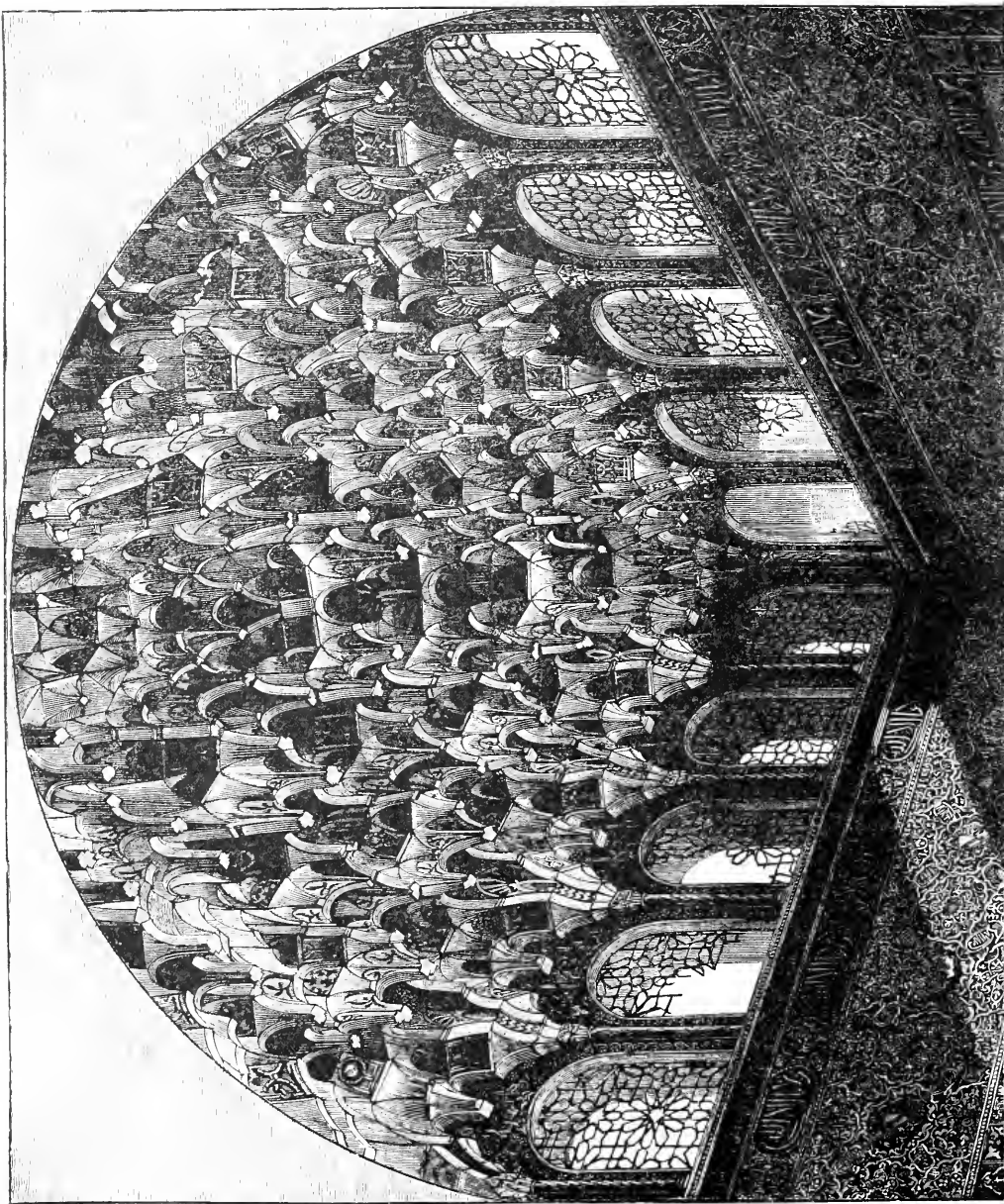
(Circ. A. D. 1250-1516.)

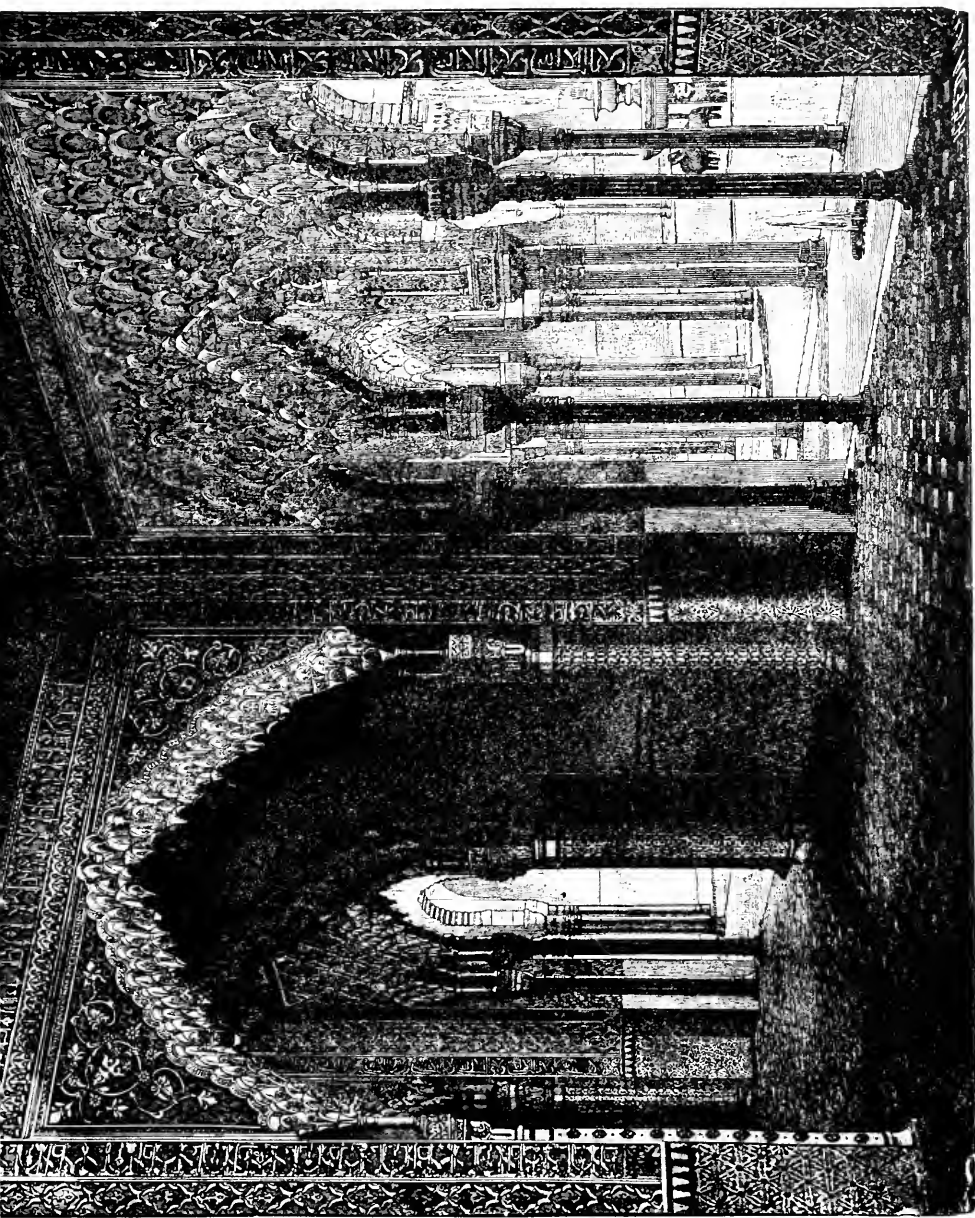
THOUGH repeatedly endangered and retarded by the Mohammedans and disturbed by internal conflicts among the Christians, the Christian rule in Spain had, as we have already seen in our last volume, reached a certain stage of security about the middle of the thirteenth century, which had led to a clearer differentiation of its territorial relations.

A remnant of Arabian rule existed only in the south, in Granada. Valencia in the south, Catalonia in the north, and Aragon on both sides of the Ebro, were united into the kingdom of Aragon. Under James I. the Conqueror (1213-1276) this kingdom had become predominant in Spain. To the west lay the flourishing kingdom of Portugal. Between lay Castile, which embraced Galicia, Asturias, Leon, Old and New Castile, and Andalusia. While the northeast of Aragon projected into French territory, the little kingdom of Navarre entered like a wedge between the two Spanish realms. The political institutions of Castile and Aragon were dependent on the predominance of the warlike nobility and the landed clergy, which had grown into power during the long-continued conflicts with the Moors. (Cf. PLATE XXII.) They were further influenced by their territorial and racial divisions. Both countries now received a promising impulse from the co-operation of the strengthened monarchy and the cities. In virtue of their leagues, or *hermandades*, the latter came to exercise great influence, and paved the way for a constitutional transformation.

In Castile Ferdinand III. the Pious (1217-1252), who had subjugated the Moors of Cordova, was followed by Alfonso X. the Wise (1252-1284). However great his fame may be as a scholar and patron of the sciences, he did little as a soldier or ruler. For while, among other things, he codified the laws of the land, he looked on quietly while the warlike Merinides came from Africa and gained a foothold in the south of Spain. Moreover, the Hohenstaufen party in Germany enticed him to accept the German crown, which brought him no gain, but ex-

PLATE XXII.





Interior of the Alhambra; the Court of Lions to the right.

hausted the financial resources of his country. To increase complications, the question of succession caused a bitter family feud even during Alfonso's life-time; for after the death of his oldest son, Ferdinand, Alfonso had his second son, Sancho, proclaimed heir, to the exclusion of his two grandsons. At the call of Ferdinand's widow, her brother Philip III. of France stood up for the rights of his nephews with force of arms. During the war Alfonso fell out with Sancho also, when he tried to compromise by a division of the kingdom. But as the nobility and royal family decidedly opposed this, the king was soon deserted by all. In 1282 the Estates recognized Sancho as the heir of the undivided kingdom, and even made him his father's representative. Alfonso cursed and disinherited Sancho on this account. Thereupon the latter made a league with the Arabian ruler of Granada, while the king sued the Merinides for help. The family feud raised the power of the nobility, who greatly embarrassed the rule of Sancho IV. (1284-1295). After his death the minority of his successor, Ferdinand IV. (1295-1312), gave not only the Aragonese and Portuguese, but also the Moors, an opportunity of enlarging their lands at the expense of Castile. When Ferdinand came of age he increased the discontent by his violent and arbitrary rule. No one mourned his death. Some years later the pope succeeded in bringing about a compromise, by the terms of which Ferdinand's minor son, Alfonso XI. (1312-1350), was to be placed under a regency. His father's uncle, Don John, was to be regent in the northern and western parts of Castile, and the young king's paternal uncle, Don Pedro, in the south and east. But after both had fallen in an unfortunate battle with the Moors, the quarrel about the regency broke out anew in the royal family. From 1324 on Alfonso XI. only increased these dissensions through the violence and passion of his independent rule. However, he gradually succeeded in overthrowing the rebellion of the nobility and in restoring the royal authority. He made a timely amicable settlement with Aragon and Portugal so as to ward off the attack which Abul Hasan was preparing. The Arabian army crossed the straits of Gibraltar and besieged Tarifa. Alfonso defeated it on the Salado, thus destroying all the enemy's hopes of reconquest. For in the course of the war the Spanish took Algeciras, which had heretofore served as an entrance to Spain. These successes reacted favorably on the growth of royal power in Castile. The estates granted the king one-twentieth of the value of all sales or exchanges to carry on the war. During its progress Alfonso XI. died of a pestilence while besieging Gibraltar.

His death was the signal for the outbreak of terrible internal conflicts, which raged in Castile for a long time. The brutal licentiousness of

Alfonso's degenerate son, Peter the Cruel (1350-1369), soon caused a general uprising. Peter's half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, was its leader. While the Black Prince of England shielded Peter from deposition, the French under Bertrand du Guesclin supported the insurgents. Peter was finally defeated and taken, whereupon he was cut down, having tried at the last moment to kill his half-brother. Peace did not come to Castile even under the rule of Henry II. of Trastamare (1369-1379) or his successor, John (1379-1390). Moreover, the latter plunged the realm into a new war; for the claims he raised to the Portuguese throne in right of his queen led to a disastrous conflict. The Portuguese severely defeated John in 1385 at Aljubarrota. In consequence, the ally of Portugal and regent of England for Richard II., the Duke of Lancaster, succeeded in making a match between his daughter Catharine and the Castilian heir. The latter as Henry III. (1390-1406) restored order in Castile with the aid of the Cortes. This continued under his minor son, John II. (1406-1454), as long as the two regents, the queen-mother and the king's uncle, Ferdinand, king of Aragon, lived. After their death the nobility again got the upper hand. But at this crisis the people joined forces with the royal power against the aggressions of feudal and clerical opposition. The coincidence of this development with a similar one in Aragon, and the great commercial and maritime expansion of Portugal contributed to make the new Spanish kingdom the first power in Europe.

The greater diversity of population of Aragon made its development more changeful and disturbed than that of Castile. While the Aragonese proper as well as the Castilians had developed an enthusiastic religious courage and chivalric feeling during their long struggles with the Moors, the Catalonians, with their versatility and spirit of adventure, proved a very effective makeweight to them. Moreover, the hot-blooded temperament of the Valencians added a peculiarly effective element to the kingdom of Aragon. Without growing into a unified nation its different constituent parts still supplemented and influenced one another. In contradistinction to Castile, Aragon early became involved in European politics; for the son of James I. the Conqueror, Peter III. (1276-1285), had been called upon by the Sicilian insurgents to help them throw off the French yoke. Aragon continued to play this part when the former union of Sicily with the kingdom of Naples was dissolved. Thereupon Peter III.'s second son, Frederick, became the ruler of the independent kingdom of Naples. In Aragon itself Alfonso III. (1285-1291) succeeded his father. But in spite of foreign successes, such as the definite conquest of the Balearic isles, the royal power had to submit to the restric-

tion practised by the estates; for the three estates, nobility, clergy, and cities, in Cortes assembled, won not only the right of consent to taxation, but also obtained the so-called "Privilege of Union" at the Cortes of Saragossa, in 1287. This charter obliged the king to get the consent of the estates for the appointment of his chief counsellors. Furthermore, it granted the estates the right to answer royal infringements of their rights by the election of a new king. This arrangement, acquiesced in by James II. (1291-1327) and Alfonso IV. (1327-1336), first became the object of bitter struggles under Peter IV. (1336-1387).

The final outcome of these constitutional conflicts is highly remarkable. After his decisive victory at Epila, in 1348, over the nobles, Peter IV. expressly abrogated the right of the nobility to form such armed leagues, but swore solemnly at the same time to observe the laws, and especially not to inflict any punishment without previous judicial sentence. The king decreed that his successor should also submit to the same obligations. That necessitated the appointment of an unimpeachable supreme judicial authority. This was to be the justiciary (*justiza*), an official who had already existed with similar functions. He was made judge of the supreme court of Aragon, and was selected from the lower nobility or even the citizen class. His duties were to pass sentence, not only on all the disputes between the estates, but also on those between the estates and the king. There was no appeal from his decision, and he was responsible only to a committee of the Cortes. At first this office proved of great value, and completely fulfilled its object, a result due in great part to the first justiciary, the spotless, politic, and patriotic Beraldo of Cabrera. It was due to his energetic mediation that the king's attempt to increase his power did not lead to conflicts with the jealous nobility. When the unsuccessful war which Peter's successor, John I. (1387-1395), undertook to retain Sardinia and conquer Sicily, and the extravagance of his court, led to financial embarrassment, the office of the justiciary, then held by Juan Ximenes Cerdano, reached great importance as an arbitrating power. The harmonious co-operation of Cerdano with John's younger brother, Martin (1395-1409), made the rule of the last of his race a very beneficial one.

But after Martin had died without heirs, the crown of Aragon was the object of a long contest. While this lasted, the nobility, together with the lowest classes, tried, not only to lower the royal power, but also to debar its ally, the cities, from their rightful share in the government. But ultimately the state found an expedient to free itself from the turmoil. Each one of the three Cortes, which sat separately, appointed three of its members. These nine acted together, and examined not



FIG. 133.—A page of the Psalter of Alfonso of Aragon, written in 1442. The king and queen stand to the left and right of the altar on which the mass is being celebrated. (London, British Museum.)

only the qualifications but also the abilities of the pretenders to the throne. Their decision met with general approval when they excluded the next heir, the Count of Urgel, in favor of Ferdinand, the infante of Castile, whose personal ability recommended him. They elected him king of the united triple Aragonese kingdom.

But the rule of the new dynasty did not fulfil the promise of its beginning. King Ferdinand (1412-1416) died in a few years. His son, Alfonso V. (1416-1458), became involved in Italian affairs, because Queen Joanna II. of Naples adopted him as her successor, to use him against Louis III. of Anjou. These foreign complications ultimately resulted in the Aragonese conquest of Naples. But while Alfonso V. (Fig. 133) estranged his Neapolitan subjects by his violence, he also lost touch with Aragon, over which he made his brother John regent. The immediate result was a gain for the estates, whose privileges were considerably extended by the regent, afterward King John II. (1458-1479). The judiciary was now elected for life, and could be deposed only with the consent of the Cortes. Quarrels in the royal family favored the ambitious schemes of that body, and led to new revolts and dark deeds. John II. had a son, Charles of Viana, by his first wife, the heiress of Charles III. of Navarre. After his mother's death his step-mother opposed him in every way. When she endangered his right to succession in Navarre, Charles sought in vain to make good his claims by peaceable means. His estranged father had him imprisoned. Thereupon the Cortes took the part of the infante, and forced his father to release him. They made him not only recognize Charles as his successor, but also provide for him suitably by appointing him regent of Catalonia. But Charles died immediately afterward, in the autumn of 1461. His death was so sudden and opportune that every one believed him to have been poisoned. In consequence, the Catalonians arose against Alfonso V. A civil war ensued which lasted ten years; but as the Catalonians did not get the expected support, they finally succumbed to the king, whom Louis XI. of France assisted. Barcelona did not make peace with the king until 1472, several years after the supposed author of the baneful family quarrel was dead. She had caused the death not only of Charles of Viana, but also of her step-daughter, his sister. Charles had bequeathed his claims to Navarre to this sister, Blanche. With the connivance of Louis XI. of France, King John II., consequently, kept her imprisoned until her death, in 1462. He did this to turn over Navarre to her younger sister, Countess Eleanor of Foix, whose son, Gaston, was the husband of a sister of the French king. Their daughter, Catharine, was married to one of the wealthiest nobleman of Southern France, Jean d'Albret.

Thus Gaston de Foix got possession of Navarre, Foix, and Béarn, all of which fell later to the crown of France. The claims of the Aragonese dynasty and those of the Valois to Navarre were to lead to bitter enmity.

Meanwhile Castile had been torn by internal warfare, which had a marked effect on its relation to Aragon. There all the power had fallen to Marshal Alvaro de Luna after the death of the regents of John II. (1406–1454). The marshal aimed at winning unlimited power for the monarch by curtailing the rights of the cities as well as the nobility, although he succeeded in improving the condition of the peasantry. The weak and dependent king left him in undisturbed possession of power. Finally, however, John's second queen, Isabella of Portugal, succeeded in turning the king against de Luna, by scandalous calumnies. In 1453 he was convicted of all sorts of uncommitted crimes, and executed. The act had disastrous consequences; for John's son, Henry IV. (1454–1474), aroused general dissatisfaction by his careless extravagance, or rather that of his second wife, Joanna of Portugal, as well as by his dependence on his favorites. The nobility renewed its forbidden leagues. Besides, the immorality of the court endangered the succession. Joanna's daughter was considered the child of the all-powerful favorite Beltran de la Cueva, wherefore she was called "Beltraneja." When Henry IV. proclaimed her his successor, notwithstanding, the nobility, under the Marquis of Villena and his brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, set up the king's eleven-year-old brother, Alfonso, as anti-king. Villena, who tried to play the mediator between the two parties, really aimed at the highest power himself. In the ensuing civil war Alfonso died in 1468. His adherents offered the crown to Isabella, the king's sister, but she declined it. Finally, however, a compromise came about; Isabella was to be the successor of her brother, Henry IV., to the exclusion of Beltraneja. The king, in trying to carry out his own schemes, met with unexpected obstacles when Isabella became engaged to the heir of the Aragonese crown. Although this alliance looked toward a union of Castile and Aragon, the contract stipulated that the Castilian constitution and administration should not be changed thereby; moreover, it decreed that the future king should always reside in Castile, and should act only with the consent of his queen. Nevertheless, their enemies did not give up their cause as yet. Henry IV., who refused his consent to the marriage of his sister, was upheld by the Marquis of Villena and his adherents. Isabella escaped to Valladolid before she could be made captive. Ferdinand of Aragon met her there, and they were married in all secrecy on October 19, 1469.

Still, Henry did not wish to accede to the marriage; but death

fortunately put an end to his plans in 1474. Segovia, where Isabella was then dwelling, directly acknowledged her as his successor. Most of the Castilian cities followed its example. In February, 1475, the Cortes acknowledged Isabella as queen of Castile and Leon; at the same time they decided that the royal power belonged to her alone, and could be exercised by her consort only on her commission. As the representative of sovereignty, Isabella had complete control of the military and the finances. The union of the two kingdoms appeared externally only on the seal and the coins of the realm. As yet all did not regard this union as definitive; for Alfonso I. of Portugal took to arms in behalf of Beltraneja. His plan was to get possession of Castile by means of his niece's hand. He also hoped for French help; but, as usual, Louis XI. did not keep his promise. Ferdinand (Fig. 134) therefore could reinforce



FIG. 134.—Gold doubloon of Ferdinand II., the Catholic, and Isabella of Castile. Original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: † FERNANDVS : ET : ELISABET : D : G : REX : ET : REG[ina]. Reverse: SVB : VNBRA : (=umbra) ALARVM : TVARVM : PRO(tege). The doubloon was coined in Zealand, in the Netherlands.

his queen at the right time, and defeat the Portuguese, in 1476, at Toro on the Duero. Thereupon the revolted Castilians returned to obedience. But the war with Portugal, during which Isabella appeared in the field with her army, lasted until the autumn of 1479; then finally that county gave up its claims on the Castilian throne, and recognized the succession of Isabella as well as the union of Castile and Aragon. Shortly before that, John II. of Aragon had died, and Ferdinand succeeded him.

The young royal couple, who ruled henceforth over the greater part of Spain, belong to the most interesting personalities of the closing Middle Ages. Although direct opposites in some traits of character, the two sovereigns, nevertheless, supplemented each other in a most effective manner. Isabella was undoubtedly the greater genius, one of the greatest yet most amiable queens of all times. She was born in 1451, and soon became an orphan by the death of her father, John II. When still a child she became involved in the struggles which her weak brother,

Henry IV., brought into the realm. Still, the spotless purity of her nature took no stain from them. She had an ideal spirit which saw the connection between the smallest and most commonplace things and the highest. The religious feeling lent all her political and military actions a higher sanction. Possessed of clear insight and keen judgment, she recognized faults in church and state more clearly than approved statesmen did. Her unselfish energy, and her confident belief in success, showed her the way to the solution of the most difficult problems. Isabella of Castile and her deeds thus stand in brilliant contrast to Louis XI. of France, and the bloody horrors of the Wars of the Roses.

Ferdinand II. the Catholic, of Aragon, fell far behind his queen. Like her, he had matured early. Educated as a statesman and soldier early in life, he had not remained unspotted by the dark deeds which blotted the fame of his house. Uncommunicative and reserved, Ferdinand was a master of dissimulation. His diplomatic nature, which reminds one of some traits of Louis XI., devoted itself chiefly to foreign affairs, in which it achieved a number of successes, partly by means not to be excused; however, they laid the foundation of the vast power which Spain obtained in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, the chief object of Isabella's activity was the internal development of her state. None of her contemporaries apprehended the meaning of the new age so thoroughly and with such confident belief in its victory as did she.

Her first measure was to stop the disintegration within the kingdom. The Catholic rulers effectively opposed the feuds of the nobility by renewing and expanding the old *hermandades*, or unions of the cities, into a unified organization. The cities regulated their affairs by self-government; besides, they undertook to keep the peace by making leagues or *juntas*, according to districts. The individual *juntas* held separate meetings, while they all joined once a year in a meeting of the central *junta*. Thus a uniform system for the preservation of the public peace arose all over the kingdom. In 1483 this led to the adoption of a generally binding criminal code. The two rulers overthrew the opposition of the brutalized nobility with relentless severity. The reconsecration of the crown-domains and incomes followed. Henceforth, personal merit was the only criterion for eligibility to a government office. Thus the sovereigns freed the whole administration from the predominant feudal influence. In time, the nobility adapted itself to the change, and the inveterate hostility, which had existed between the proud and independent Castilian nobility and the monarchy, disappeared more and more. But the royal couple did not succeed in completely wiping out the old



FIG. 135. — Ferdinand II, the Catholic, dressed in his armor, preserved in the castle of Ambras. (Engraving from a work on the collection at Ambras, published in 1602.)

feudal rule until it had enlisted the three religious military orders in its service. In 1476 Isabella had her consort (Fig. 135) made Grand Master of the order of St. James of Compostella. As such he introduced a reform which placed the rich means of the order at the disposal of the government. He took the same steps in regard to the orders of Alcantara and Calatrava. Ultimately, the pope consented to an arrangement which definitely united the grand mastership of the three orders with the Castilian crown.

Thanks to the organizing ability of the Catholic sovereigns, the united Spanish kingdoms grew into unity, without, however, doing away with the peculiarity of each. But the greater the general satisfaction grew with the growth of the national life and the new forms of economics and intellectual activity, the more displeasure was caused by the contrast in which the mediaeval church stood to the political development. To have done away with its abuses is the particular merit of Isabella. She was filled with the deep religiousness of her people. To rouse the latent forces of her nation to activity, she had need of the influence of the church. But the Spanish church of her time was but a part of the declining papal church. Suffering from the late civil war, it was unable to perform its part in the great national task. Isabella conceived the idea of a national reformation of the church by the state. She fell back on the basis on which the attempts at reform during the period of the Great Councils had been made. The queen did not wish to touch the dogmatic foundations of the Spanish church or its constitution; she intended only to remove its abuses. Like the clergy at large, the Spanish priests also lacked theological training, dignity and real religious sentiment. This grieved the queen very much. She set herself the task of raising the church to the level of the new national life. In scarcely any other field do Isabella's wonderful powers as ruler stand out so clearly as in this matter of church reform. She created a Spanish national church, the only church which carried out the mediaeval ideal of ecclesiastical reform.

To be sure, she could utilize older institutions for her purpose; for after the middle of the thirteenth century the crown participated in the appointment of bishops. Secondly, papal bulls could not be published without previous royal consent; furthermore, the Spanish clergy paid a proportionate part of the taxes. However, all this would not have sufficed to preserve the state from the manifold injury due to the degeneracy of the church and clergy. To redress these abuses, the Spanish rulers in 1481 demanded of the papal court a policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Spanish church. It was to appoint bishops only on royal

recommendation. The straits in which the papacy then found itself, on account of Italian feuds, prompted it in 1482 to accept the demands. As the vacant bishoprics were filled by men who adopted Isabella's high-church tendencies, these tendencies gradually ruled in the Spanish church. The decayed monastic discipline was strenuously renewed. The state worked against the crass ignorance of the clergy by enforcing a regular theological training for that class. After the term of probation had passed and the cleric persisted in his old ignorance, he was deposed. The result was the rise of a new Spanish scientific theology. Its seat was the University of Alcalá, which was excellently equipped. Here



FIG. 136.—Arabian helmet, supposed to have belonged to Boabdil. (Madrid, Armory.)

theology freed itself from the suffocating embrace of scholasticism and returned to the enlivening study of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Thus the orthodox national church helped to strengthen the growing unity of the state.

Under such circumstances, the thought that Granada, the richest part of the country, was in the hands of the infidel, was unbearable. The

descendants of King Mohammed Alhamar had reigned there since the middle of the thirteenth century. In consequence of unsuccessful wars, his people had been restricted, from 1266 on, to the highlands of Anda-



FIG. 137. Portrait supposed to be of Boabdil, the last King of Granada. Probably a product of the Flemish School of the seventeenth century. (Spain, in private possession.)

lusia. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Moslem immigrations from the Christian districts doubled the population of the realms.

Industry and commerce made the Moorish state very prosperous. True to their traditions, the Moors of Granada cultivated art and science to a high degree in their capital (Fig. 136). They succeeded in again shaking off the tribute paid to Castile; but their attempt to extend their power only hastened the destructive attack of Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1481 the war of the Castilians and Aragonese against the southern Moors began. A war of nine years reduced the Moorish possessions piece by piece; consequently their last king, Boabdil (Fig. 137), was restricted to his capital, Granada, and the hills to the south of it. In 1491 the Spaniards under Isabella besieged the city of Granada itself. On January 2, 1492, famine forced the city to capitulate. Boabdil fled to the impassable hills of Alpujarras, while the Catholic monarchs entered Granada.

Thus, after almost eight centuries of conflict, the wars between Christianity and Islam in Spain came to a close; but the passions they had aroused left a residuum in the Spanish national character which exercised a baneful influence on church and state. Those Moors and their descendants, the Moriscos, who wished to remain in Spain had to adopt Christianity. But their conversion was merely formal; while Isabella considered it her duty not to exercise toleration. The object of the Inquisition, which had been revived in 1480, was to track and punish every noticeable relapse into Mohammedism. It was consonant with the dependence of the church on the state that the king appointed both the Grand Inquisitor and his colleagues. They had absolute powers to convict anyone of heresy and to punish him. Under the direction of Thomas of Torquemada, the father-confessor of Isabella, the Inquisition developed a terrible activity, after 1492, in the persecution of the Moriscos. But it fell with especial violence on the Jews, who were forced to emigrate, chiefly to North Africa. It was portentous that the Inquisition should soon become also a political police and grow into the servant of every sort of despotism. Nevertheless, it enjoyed a sort of popularity. As yet the people overlooked the baneful course into which its political development was being forced by the one-sided emphasis of ecclesiastical orthodoxy; for at the time of the establishment of the Inquisition other fields of activity opened to the nation. Immediately after the conquest of Granada, Spain entered into competition with Portugal in opening up the New World. The movement itself was begun by Portugal.

The beginning of this kingdom goes back to the close of the eleventh century. At that time Portugal issued from the Moorish wars as a feudal fief of Castile. The county lay between the Minho and Mondego, and derived its name from its capital, Porto Calo, later Oporto. The

brave Henry of Burgundy, a Capetian, then ruled it. Under his son, Alfonso I. (1131-1185), the feudal relation to Castile was broken off. In 1139, Alfonso won a brilliant victory over the Moors at Ourique and conquered Algarve. In return, his people crowned him king. Alfonso sought to strengthen his rule by the confirmation of Pope Alexander III. Portugal became a fief of the Holy See and paid it a yearly tribute. Besides, he granted the clergy many privileges, and enriched the church by grants of land. On the other hand, he laid the political foundations of the state by regulating the succession, establishing the rights of the estates, and organizing the judiciary with their assistance. In return for corresponding services and dues, he granted the Moors the rights of citizenship as well as the retention of their customs and privileges. The capture of Santarem and of Lisbon, in 1147, and that of Evora, in 1166, mark the main stages in the growth of the young kingdom, of which Lisbon was the predestined capital.

Alfonso's son and successor, Sancho I. (1185-1211), continued the war against the infidel with success. His far-famed victory at Santarem rescued his country from the overwhelming onslaught of the fanatic Almohades. His chief merit is the restoration of the ruined cities which he had reconquered. Under his protection an industrial population sprang up in them which offered him a makeweight against the warlike nobility. Sancho's devotion to the interests of the peasantry led to like results. This gave the young kingdom a popular character. The consciousness of its inherent strength made possible Sancho's successful resistance to the hierarchical claims of Innocent III. His son, Alfonso II. (1211-1223), also had to protect the state from the assumptions of the papal court in a long and violent struggle. He deposed the Archbishop of Braga for having published the ban and interdict in 1217. He deprived the infidels of the stronghold of Alcaacer-do-Sal with the aid of the crusaders, who were bound for Damietta. He then made over the fortress to the order of St. James of Compostella. In the care he devoted to the cities and peasantry and to the preservation of the peace and the execution of the laws, Alfonso II. was the worthy successor of his father.

Turbulence came with the rule of his son, Sancho II. (1223-1245); for in his reign the conflict with the papacy broke out again and resulted in the humiliation of the kingdom. At first the king was on the best terms with the papal see; but he provoked it when he demanded military service from the bishops as his vassals, and subjected the clergy in temporal matters to the jurisdiction of the temporal courts. The disaffected barons joined the clerical opposition. Led by the Archbishop of Braga, their delegates went to the Council of Lyons, in 1245, and accused

Sancho of supposed church robbery and misrule. When Innocent IV. declared against the king, a revolt broke out and he had to flee to Castile. At the court of Ferdinand he died in exile, in 1248. His brother Alfonso III. (1248-1279), who had been regent, now ascended the throne and resumed the Moorish wars. He conquered the whole of Algarve, but spared the subjugated inhabitants, and furthered the growth of cities and agriculture by excellent legislation. When his power was strong enough, he took up the anti-hierarchical policy of his predecessors again. The result was another conflict with the papacy. But Alfonso III. maintained his position until he died. Not until then, in 1279, was he freed from the ban by promising to fulfil the obligations he had undertaken toward the church at his election. But his son Dionysius (1279-1325) did not purpose to keep his father's promises. A compromise was effected in 1289; but the king counteracted its evil effects by issuing a law at a meeting of the estates in Coimbra, in 1291, which forbade the leaving of estates in mortmain to the church. The same political motives actuated the king when, somewhat later, he confiscated the possessions of the dissolved Templars and made them over to the newly founded Order of Christ.

But toward the close of the rule of Dionysius internal troubles shook his state. Beautiful women played a part in them, which led to a series of murders in the royal house. With difficulty King Dionysius composed a quarrel between his heir, Alfonso, and his beloved natural son, Alfonso Sanchez. Under Alfonso IV. (1325-1357) the fratricidal war threatened repeatedly to break out anew, and ended only at the death of Alfonso Sanchez. The dissolution of the marriage between Alfonso's son Pedro and Blanche, the daughter of the heir to the Castilian throne, involved Portugal in a long war with Castile. Alfonso IV., although a good ruler, darkened his fame by a terrible crime. The second marriage of the infante Pedro had ended in the death of his wife after the birth of an heir to the throne in 1345; since then Pedro had lived in secret wedlock with Ines de Castro, his deceased wife's beautiful maid of honor. He helped the brothers of Ines, who bore him many children, to win great influence; besides, he surrounded himself with a number of Castilian noblemen. That displeased the Portuguese nobility. Moreover, the king suspected that his son would exclude the legitimate heir from the succession in favor of the children of Ines; that placed the removal of Pedro's mistress in the light of a political necessity. While Pedro was absent at the chase, Ines was murdered in 1355 in the monastery of Coimbra in the king's presence. Beside himself with grief and fury, Pedro and her relatives took up arms against the king; but

the Archbishop of Braga reconciled them before the outbreak of hostilities. Pedro, however, did not forget his grief; so when Alfonso died and he succeeded him, he took terrible vengeance on the counsellors who had taken part in the murder of Ines.

The great tragedy of his life left its traces in the rule of Pedro I. (1357-1367). On the one hand, he was a relentless guardian of law and order, and on the other a man of unrestrained sensuality. However, his people did not forget his indefatigable activity in promoting the well-being of Portugal. They cherished his memory doubly under the impression of the misrule of his son, Ferdinand (1367-1383), whose attempt to get possession of Castile in 1369 after the death of Peter the Cruel, to the exclusion of Henry of Trastamare, led to a sorry issue and greatly impaired the finances of Portugal. But Ferdinand's passion for the wife of a nobleman, Leonore Tellez de Menezes, proved especially fatal to his kingdom. For her sake he broke his engagement with the daughter of Henry of Castile, and entered on a marriage which was despised by nobility and people alike; consequently, a large number of the former sided with Henry in the renewed war. After the siege and partial burning of Lisbon, the Castilian king compelled Ferdinand to make a disgraceful peace in 1373.

The unscrupulous intrigues of Leonore to win the crown for her own daughter, Beatrice, led to repeated murder, and entirely estranged the nation from its king. The people thought that the queen's machinations endangered the independence of Portugal; for Beatrice was affianced to the still younger son of Edmund, Duke of York, so as to ensure the support of England against Castile. But the war turned out very unfavorably for Portugal, while the licentiousness of the English mercenaries caused general indignation. Consequently the Portuguese severed the English alliance and made peace with Castile in 1383. Beatrice was engaged to the Castilian heir. On his early death, she was married to King John, who now hoped to become the successor of his father-in-law. Soon afterward Ferdinand of Portugal died. Leonore Tellez was to be regent until a future son of Beatrice should be old enough to reign; but the Portuguese nobility and people would hear of no connection between Portugal and Castile. Their indignation led them to a new crime. The favorite, Andeiro, whom Ferdinand had made Count of Ourem, was murdered in the palace by some Portuguese noblemen. The people rose against Leonore and the threatening foreign rule, and proclaimed Ferdinand's half-brother, John the Bastard, defender and regent of Portugal. When Leonore tried to get possession of power in the name of Beatrice and with the aid of her Castilian son-in-law, a long war resulted.

During its course the queen-mother fell out with John of Castile, who imprisoned her in a monastery, where she died. By cunning and violence he then got all possible claimants to the Portuguese throne into his power. Such methods and his cruel mode of warfare only incited the Portuguese to the resistance of despair. Thus the original enemies of John the Bastard were driven into his arms. John of Castile besieged



FIG. 138.—Prince Henry the Navigator. After a miniature in the manuscript entitled "*Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*," etc., written about 1448-1453. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Lisbon in 1384, but had to raise the siege after four months. The regent declined all overtures of peace. Whereupon his thankful people made him king, in March, 1385. On April 6, John I. (1385-1433), was proclaimed as such amidst the acclamation of the people. But he had to ward off one more Castilian attack. On August 14, 1385,

his inferior army won a great victory at Aljubarrota, which secured the king his crown and the Portuguese their independence. Nevertheless, perfect internal peace did not return to the Spanish peninsula until 1411.

The Portuguese now turned their arms against the infidels, and tried to conquer the north coast of Africa from them. In 1415, John I. seized Ceuta. The Portuguese extended their foothold along the Atlantic coast, and this gave rise to the desire to become acquainted with the



FIG. 139.—Vasco da Gama. From the manuscript of Pedro Baretto de Resenda. (London, British Museum.)

neighboring seas. Some time before this Castilian sailors had rediscovered the Canaries, and had begun colonizing them. The youngest son of John I., Henry, was just the man to continue the work of discovery. This he did with skill and success. In virtue of the soundest studies and rare knowledge, Prince Henry organized the exploration

of the time into a national undertaking. At first he did not receive support from the nation or the government; but as the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, he had great riches at his disposal. With these means he fitted out expeditions which sailed south from Lagos. Not until their success opened up ever more brilliant prospects to trade did the nation overcome its disinclination and pursue the course pointed out by him; he was thereafter known as Henry the Navigator (Fig. 138). The possibility now first dawned upon men's minds of reaching East India by sailing around Africa. A new route might be opened for obtaining its products, the transportation of which was hindered in the overland passage by the Turks in Asia Minor.

Thus the Portuguese discovered Porto Santo, in 1418, and Madeira the next year. Thence they reached the islands of Cape Verde and the Azores. When Henry died, in 1460, they had already reached the coast of Sierra Leone in western Africa. If the acquisition of wealth and the desire to improve their position lured many to the new lands, the great problem remained the discovery of a passage to the East Indies. While the successor of John I., Edward (1433-1438), eagerly supported his uncle's schemes, the discoveries came to a standstill under Alfonso V. (1438-1481). But Henry's plans were carried on on a great scale under John II. (1481-1495). In his reign, Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern point of Africa, in 1486; but heavy storms forced him to return from the Cape of Good Hope. There was hope now, however, of reaching the East Indies by sea; and so Vasco da Gama (Fig. 139) reached Calicut on the Malabar coast in western India, in 1498, which became the chief seat of the Portuguese trade and colonization. In due time the eastern trade, especially that in spices, fell exclusively into Portuguese hands.

Meanwhile, a much greater discovery had been made. A Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, had conceived the bold idea that East India could be reached by always sailing westward; but for a long time he tried in vain to get the means to fit out an expedition. In spite of the adverse decision of her court, Isabella took up the plan and granted Columbus means, which were scanty enough. She made a contract with him, which secured the lands to be discovered to the Castilian crown. On August 3, 1492, Columbus (Fig. 140) sailed from Palos. On October 12, he reached the island of Guanahani, which he called San Salvador. Then he touched Cuba, which he called Hispaniola, and finally Haiti or San Domingo. Columbus considered all these islands as undiscovered parts of India. One could infer the richness of the land from the products which he brought home. Better supported, Columbus discovered

Jamaica on his second voyage (1493–1496). He also planted a colony in Cuba, which did not flourish on account of the inordinate greed of the colonists. On his third voyage (1498–1501) Columbus first set foot on South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco. On the strength of the calumnies of the colonial officials, Columbus was accused, and, at the order of Ferdinand, brought home in chains by his deadly enemy, Bobadilla. After he arrived, he found it easy to clear himself of the charge. His fourth voyage, which lasted from 1502 to 1504, had no



FIG. 140.—Supposed portrait of Christopher Columbus. (Madrid, Navy Office.)

results worth mention. Meanwhile, Isabella had died. Columbus tried in vain to obtain the fulfilment of the promises once made him; but his enemies brought false charges against him, and Ferdinand mistrusted him. The Spanish government only repaid him with ingratitude, and he died poor and embittered, in 1506, at Seville.

The discovery of America, and of a sea-passage to the East Indies, caused a great change in the world's commerce and economic relations. As a result, the Italian cities, which had heretofore been the world's carriers, lost their significance and began to lose their wealth. The same fate came upon Augsburg, Nuremberg, and other German cities, which

had drawn great wealth from the carrying trade between Italy and the north and northeast. Lisbon now became the real emporium of the world. Between this city and the northeast, the Dutch henceforth acted as middlemen. Consequently, Bruges became the chief centre from which the Hanseatic cities, in particular Lübeck, Dantzie, and Hamburg, supplied England, the north, and the northeast with Eastern products. Spain, however, soon obtained predominance in Europe, on account of the wealth and precious metals which flowed to it from the New World.

CHAPTER XVI.

ITALY THE OBJECT OF THE FIRST EUROPEAN WARS; AND THE INFLUENCE OF ITALY ON THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF WESTERN EUROPE.

(A. D. 1450-1516.)

THE main outcome of historical progress in the first half of the fifteenth century was the breaking down of the unifying tendency of the Middle Ages, and the growth of national monarchical states. Thus, England, France, Spain, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary split off from the great European family of states. But there was one difference in this development between the east and the west: in the three eastern states the mediaeval feudal aristocracy continued to predominate; in the three western ones, on the other hand, the cities became the chief stay of monarchy. The development of Italy and Germany followed the opposite course. Instead of attaining national unity they fell a prey to disintegration. In the fifteenth century Germany suffered its first great territorial losses—Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia cut loose from the empire. Italy became the object of European wars which threatened to divide it between France and Spain; but at the same time it unfolded an unparalleled splendor in all fields of intellectual activity, and, for its part, conquered the world again, in a way.

Sicily remained a part of the kingdom of Aragon, under which its inhabitants sought protection from the French rule. In Southern Italy the two lines of the Anjous destroyed each other in relentless warfare, and fell in the attempt to unite Naples with Hungary, in opposition to actual political conditions. After the death of Ladislaus the Great, of Hungary and Naples, in 1414, the crown descended to his sister, Joanna II. She was the childless widow of William, Duke of Austria, and was of unbridled licentiousness. The influence she gave her paramour, Pandolfo Alapo, and the *condottiere* Sforza, roused the indignation of the native nobility. They finally made her remove both favorites. But their successor, Joanna's second husband, James of Bourbon, also had to leave the country, only to give way to Gianni di Caraccioli. Louis III. of Anjou thought he could use the internal confusion of Naples in support of his assumed claims on the Neapolitan throne; but he failed. To spite him, Joanna II. adopted Alfonso V. of Aragon and Sicily as

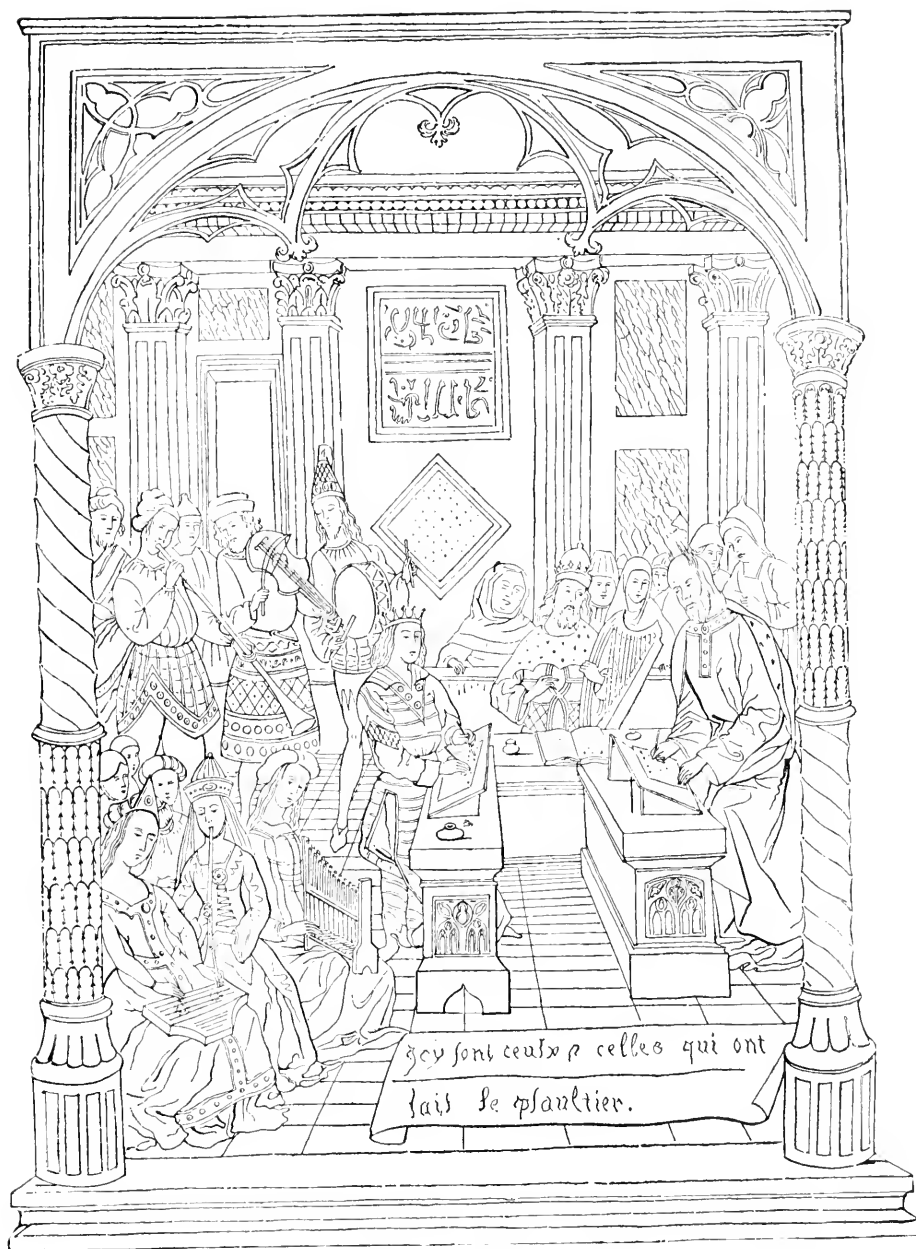


FIG. 141.—Life at the Court of King René of Naples. Illustrative of the musical instruments of the fifteenth century. (Quatrebarbes-Hawke; *Oeuvres du Roi René*.)

her successor. After his death, in 1434, she called his brother, Duke René of Bar and Lorraine, to the throne on her death-bed, in 1435 (Fig. 141). He never came to Italy, and was content with the empty title of king of Naples. He left the country to Alfonso V. of Aragon, who was generally recognized in 1442, and reigned unchallenged until 1458.

While his brother John II. followed him in Aragon and Sicily, his natural son, Ferdinand, was to succeed in Naples, according to Alfonso's will. But the Neapolitan nobility were bent on setting Alfonso's (Fig. 142) nephew, Charles of Viana, on the throne in opposition to him. They met a rebuff, however, from John II. He called in the son of René of Bar, John, who styled himself Duke of Calabria, his indolent father gladly making over his rights to him. But in spite of his winning presence and military prowess, John had only transitory success. He was deserted by his adherents, and had to leave the country in 1465. However little the gloomy despotism of Ferdinand I. (1458–1494) appealed to the gay Neapolitans, they were nevertheless thankful



FIG. 142.—Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples. Medal moulded and cast, in 1449, by Victor Pisano. (Berlin, Royal Cabinet of Coins.)

for the blessings of his strong rule. Ferdinand held down the nobility with a strong hand, and ruled with the aid of his officials and counsellors. He tried to strengthen the new dynasty by favoring the cities and bettering the condition of the peasants. He likewise furthered art and science. He adorned Naples with beautiful new buildings. A printing press, set up by Germans, promoted intellectual life. During the thirty years of his reign, Ferdinand thus won the gratitude of his people.

The change that took place in the position of the papacy and the nature of the papal states in the last half of the fifteenth century was very significant for the whole development of Italy (Fig. 143). Eugenius IV., on returning to Rome after his long absence, had found the States of the Church in a sorry condition of disruption. His legate Vitelleschi (who had been murdered in 1440) had not, in spite of the utmost severity, succeeded in restoring order. Matters did not improve when Eugenius died, in 1447, and was succeeded by Pope Nicholas

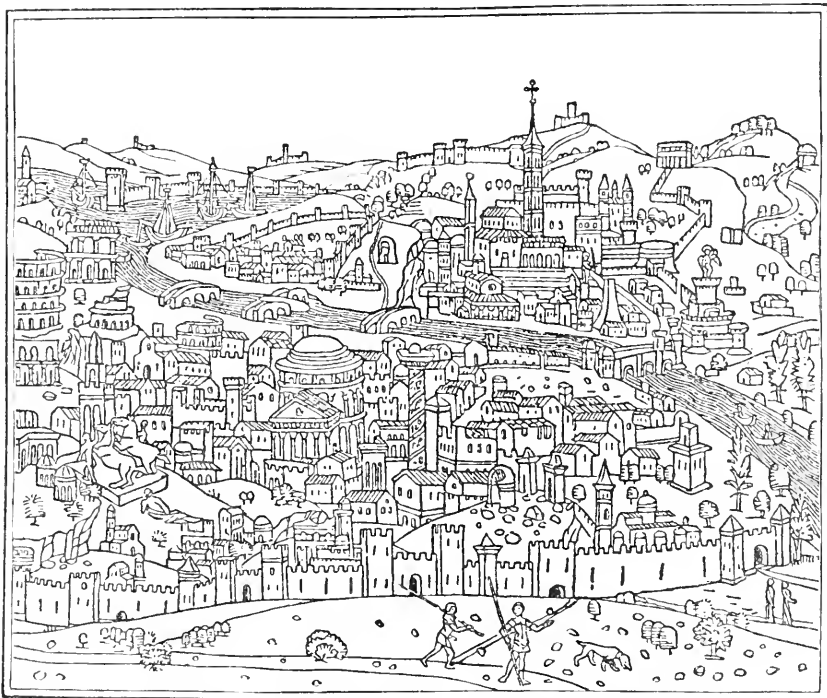


FIG. 143.—Early view of Rome. Facsimile of a woodcut in the "Supplementum Chronicorum" of 1490.

V. (1447–1455), one of the best popes of his time. True, his important activity lies without the field of the church. Thoroughly learned, Nicholas was a zealous devotee of the rising humanistic culture. He founded the Vatican library, and deposited a collection of manuscripts of the classic authors in it. He began to transform the Vatican into a papal palace, and planned the alteration of St. Peter's. But such activity was dangerous, in view of the instability and immaturity of Roman politics; it brought out the contrast between ancient and papal Rome too sharply. That led, in 1453, to Stefano Porcario's attempt to renew the

popular tribunate, to capture the pope, and proclaim the Roman republic; but the conspiracy was discovered, and Porcaro was hanged. The impression created by the fall of Constantinople caused a violent electoral conflict, after the death of Nicholas V. In view of the danger from the Turks and the efforts at union with the Greek Church, one party aimed at the election of the learned Cardinal Bessarion, who had formerly belonged to that church. On the other side, the Orsini and Colonna strove against each other. In consequence, the conclave ended in a surprise: it elected the Bishop of Valencia, Alfonso Borgia, who took the name of Calixtus III. (1455-1458). He was politic enough to concentrate his energies in coping with the Turkish war (Fig. 144), which was the only way whereby the successor of St. Peter could still gain a kind of universal authority. But his great zeal did not suffice to overcome the obstacles which the general political outlook raised. Neither the little fleet which the pope sent to the Greek waters, nor the fiery zeal of John of Capistrano, nor even the courage of Hunyady could achieve a success worthy of the name. In Rome itself and the papal states Calixtus III. made many enemies on account of his unwarranted partiality to his relatives and countrymen. On his death, in 1458, the people rose in arms against them. His successor, the versatile Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pius II. (1458-1464), had no more success in starting a new crusade against the Turks. Besides, he was much more of a cultured but vain humanist than an ecclesiastical prince or statesman.

His follower, Paul II. (1464-1471), once more raised the papacy to some importance. He ruled like an autocrat, and made short work of the rebellious barons. The change of the papal states from a spiritual domain to a temporal principality was completed by Sixtus IV. (1471-1484). He made a serious attempt to found a dynasty at the expense of the church. Thus he loaded down his nephew, Giulio delle Rovere, with ecclesiastical offices and dignities. Meanwhile, another nephew of his, Pietro Riario, with Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, conceived the fantastic plan of initiating an ecclesiastical and political revolution in Italy: its object was to make the Milanese tyrant king of Italy, and himself pope and head of a secularized papacy. But death crossed his schemes. A third nephew, Girolamo Riario, sought to pave his way to independent rule by the overthrow of the Medici in Florence. For his sake Sixtus IV. abetted the conspiracy of the Pazzi. Lorenzo the Magnificent barely escaped from their daggers, to which his son, Giuliano, fell victim. Thereupon the pope made war on Florence, with the aid of Naples. As Girolamo met with no success in Florence, he tried to get possession of the estates of the Este of Ferrara. His doings finally caused a revolt of the

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Romans under the Colonna. In the midst of the new civil war Sixtus IV. died (Fig. 144). His death overthrew the power of his nephews. But the pope had not been a mere tyrant filled with the lust of power. The Romans revered in him the builder of the two towers in the Piazza del Popolo, the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and the Sistine chapel, which was afterward so beautifully adorned. Innocent VIII. (1484-1492), Sixtus's successor, continued the degradation of the papal office (PLATE XXIII.¹) His disreputable bargain in regard to Prince Zezim entirely deprived the papacy of the halo of moral influence which had surrounded it. This pope held the prince, who offered his service against the Turk, captive in return for an annuity. Thus he played directly into the hands of Sultan Bajazet II. (Figs. 145, 146), and hindered the execution of the plans of the Christians. Besides, there were bloody family quarrels and party conflicts, which gave over the land to continual warfare; for the conquered, who



FIG. 144.—Medal with bust of Pope Sixtus IV., commemorating the expulsion of the Turks from Otranto in 1481. Made by Guazzalotti. Obverse: SIXTVS · III · PON · MAX · SACRI · CVLT ·. Reverse: Constantia leaning against a column: Galleys, Turkish prisoners, and arms. Legend: PARCERE · SVBIECTIS · ET · DE · BELLARE · SVPERBOS. Original size. (Berlin.)

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

Facsimile of a Letter of Indulgence of Pope Innocent VIII., 1487.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Univerſis præſentes litteras inſpecturis Raymondus Peraudi, ſacre pagine profeſſor archidiaconus Alviſienſis in eccleſia Xañetonenſi, ſancte ſedis apoſtolice protonotarius et comiſſarius in hac parte, decanus, capitulum eccleſie cathedralis Xañetonenſis ſalutem.

were exiled and deprived of the benefit of the law, banded themselves together. The *banditi* (banished) made a business of robbing and way-

Notum facimus, quod felicis recordationis dominus Sixtus divina providentia papa quartus cunctis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, qui pro tuitione orthodoxe fidei contra Thureas et reedificatione ecclesie Xanctonensis secunde in toto orbe terrarum ad honorem beati Petri apostolorum principis fundate de bonis suis speciali intentione pie distribuerint vel per nuncios nostros miserint, quatinus possuit eligere confessorem seculorem vel regularem, qui eos ab omnibus excessibus et delictis preterquam apostolice sedi reservatia totiens quotiens opus fuerit absolvere possit et insuper totiens quotiens ad talem statum devenerint, ut verisimiliter de eorum morte dubitetur atque in mortis articulo plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum remissionem eis valeat impertiri de sue plenitudinis potestate facultatem concessit. Quas quidem gratias, indulgentias et facultates sanctissimus dominus noster Innocentius papa octavus et modernus de mense Julii anno superiori et nunc de novo anno presenti de mense Decembris ultimo lapsi confirmavit, concessit et approbavit voluitque, quod omnes ex huiusmodi indulgentia pecunie provenientes nunc totaliter pro tuitione fidei applicarentur.

Facultas associationis sive participationis omnium ecclesie suffragiorum, in quibus nunc et in perpetuum percipient nedum obtinentes huius modi gratias confessionales, sed etiam eorum parentes et benefactores defuncti, quod facultas taxata est unica taxa scilicet cum confessionali.

Voluit quoque idem sanctissimus dominus noster motu proprio omnes et singulas huiusmodi benefactores atque eorum parentes defunctos aut eorum benefactores, qui cum caritate decesserint, in omnibus precibus, suffragiis, missis, elemosinis, jejuniis, orationibus, disciplinis et ceteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis, que fiunt et fieri potuerunt in tota universali sacrosancta Christi ecclesia militante et omnibus membris eiusdem in perpetuum participes fieri. Cum itaque devot . . . in Christo . . . ad ipsius fidei piam subventionem et defensionem et dicte ecclesie reedificationem juxta summi pontificis intentionem, prout per presentes litteras sibi in huius testimonium a nobis traditas approbamus, contulerit, eiusdem auctoritate pontificis sibi ut indulgentia predictae ecclesie concessa quoad in superioribus contenta uti et gaudere valeat merito constat esse concessum. Datum sub sigillo predictae ecclesie ad hoc ordinato die . . . mensis . . . Anno M^{CC}CLXXXVII.

Forma absolutionis in vita totiens quotiens.

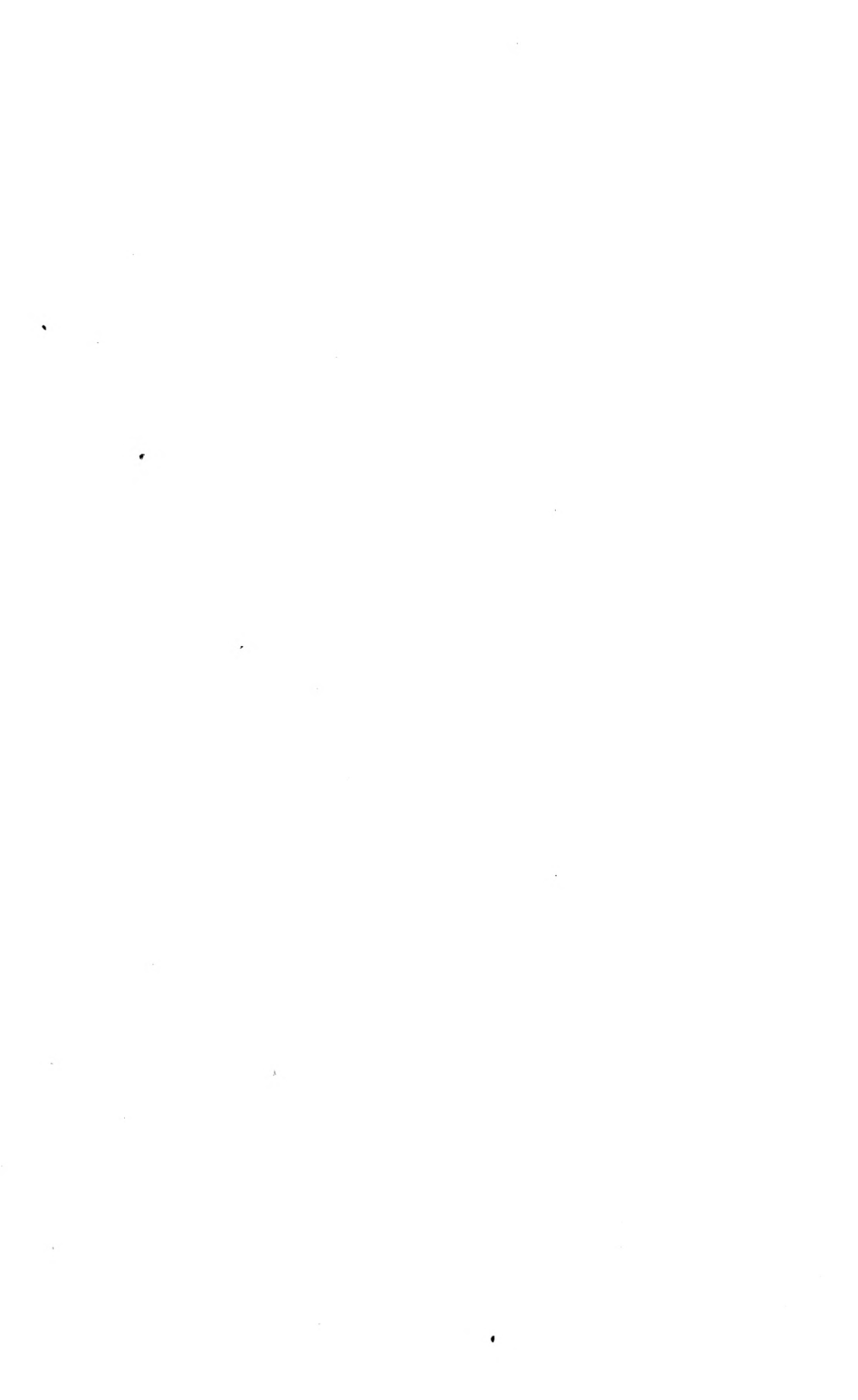
Misereatur tui, etc. Dominus noster Jesus Christus per meritum sue passionis te absolvat auctoritate cuius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

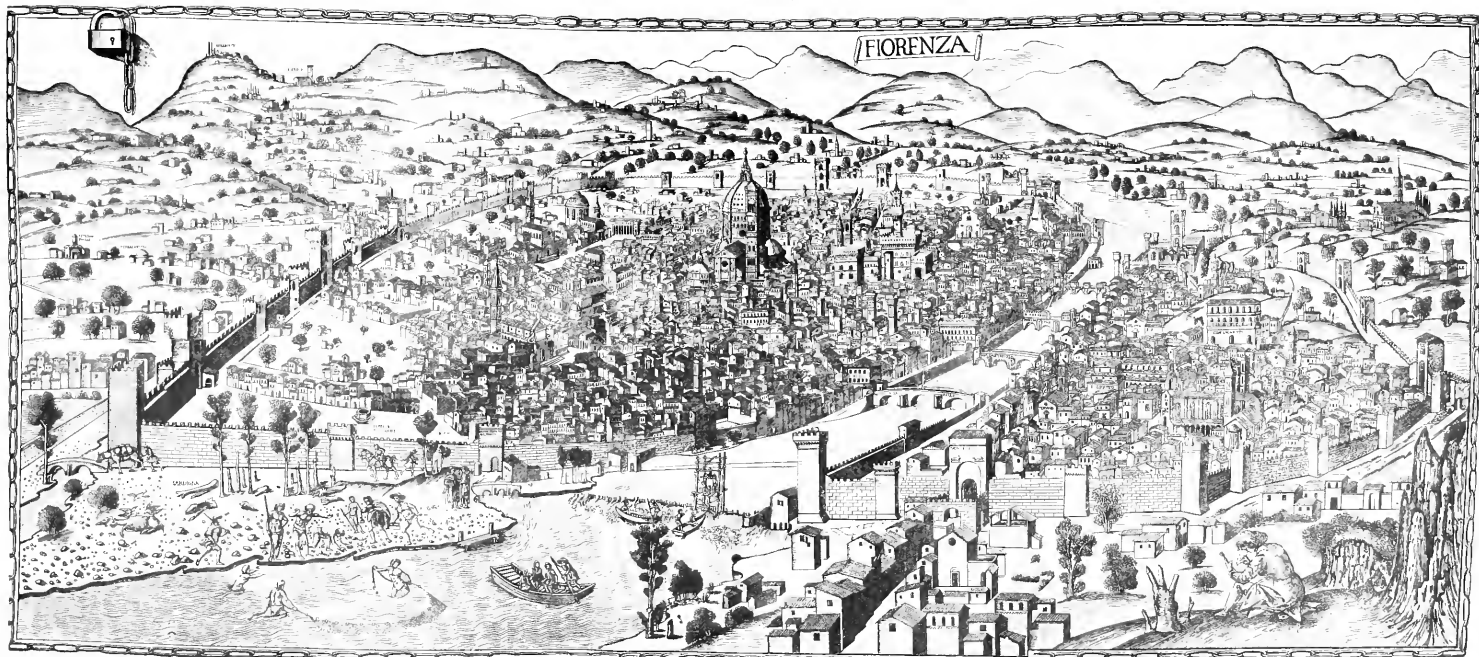
Forma absolutionis et plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo vel verisimili.

Misereatur tui, etc. Dominus noster Jesus Christus per meritum sue passionis te absolvat et ego auctoritate ipsius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa te absolvo. Primo ab omni sententia excommunicationis maioris vel minoris quam incurristi. Deinde ab omnibus peccatis tuis contritis, confessis et oblitis conferendo tibi plenariam omnium peccatorum tuorum remissionem remittendo tibi penas purgatorii. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

TRANSLATION.

To all to whom these presents may come, Raymondus Peraudi, professor of Holy Writ, archdeacon of Alvis(?) at the church of Xanten, prothonotary of the Holy See, and commissary in this land, the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Xanten, greeting. We make known that our lord of blessed memory, by divine providence Pope Sixtus IV. granted to all the faithful of both sexes, who shall with pious intent give somewhat or send it by our messengers for the protection of the orthodox faith against the Turks, or the rebuilding of the church at Xanten, which is the second in the whole universe founded in honor of the beatified Peter, the Prince of Apostles, to all such the pope granted that they might select a confessor from the secular or regular clergy, who may, as often as it may be necessary, absolve them from all transgressions and misdemeanors, with the exception of





Holbein the Younger, 1490.

View of Florence about 1490. Reduced in size of the unique contemporary woodcut. Berlin.
 Oldest view of Florence of this kind. The absence of the Strozzi Palace, which was built in 1492, shows that this picture is older than that date.

laying their enemies. The papacy procured money by the most questionable means. The favorite one of Innocent VIII. was a wholesale trade in papal bulls.

But the church was to see still worse days. After the death of Innocent (Fig. 147), another Borgia reached the papal throne by fraud and violence. As Alexander VI. (1492-1503), he made it an object of abomination to all right-minded men. He was an unsatiable debauchee and a free-thinker. Alexander's (Fig. 148) sole wish was to give his children the first rank among the Italian dynasties. He not only made his papal authority subservient to this end, but employed every means with the most open shamelessness to reach it.

How glorious was the Florentine culture in contrast to the wild disorderliness of the church and of the papal states! The growth of that city offers an instructive counterpart to the older Greek tyrannies (PLATE XXIV.). The opposition of the artisans and merchants had restricted the power of the Gueff nobility more and more, and introduced a

those reserved to the Holy See. And as often over and above this as they are in a state in which their life may be despaired of, he (Pope Sixtus) gave the confessor full power to grant them forgiveness of all their sins in virtue of his office. This favor, the indulgence and the permission to enjoy it, his Holiness, Pope Innocent VIII., confirmed in July of the last year, and in December last of the present year has again confirmed, granted, and approved it, and willed that all sums accruing from this indulgence shall now be devoted entirely to the defence of the faith.

Permission to join and participate in all ecclesiastical intercessions in which now and forever, not only those shall take part who receive the grace of absolution, but also their deceased parents and benefactors; and this permission shall be taxed only with one tax, namely, that for confession.

The said Holy Father also wills that these benefactors collectively and singly, and their deceased parents, or their benefactors who founded a charitable institution on their death, shall forever be partakers of all the spiritual goods, masses, alms, fasts, prayers, religious exercises and all other spiritual goods which take place, or can take place, in the church militant of Christ and all its members. Now as the pious N . . . has contributed to the support of the defence of the faith and to the re-edification of the said church according to the pope's intention, the same has part and enjoyment in the indulgence granted the said church according to its terms. Given under the prescribed seal of the said the church . . . of the month . . . of the year 1487.

Absolution formula to be used as often as agreeable in life.

The Lord have mercy on thee, etc. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolves thee through the merit of his passion, in virtue of whose power as well as in the plentitude of apostolic power committed to me for this district, and conferred by me on thee, I absolve thee of all thy sins. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Formula for full absolution in case of death or the probable approach of death.

The Lord have mercy on thee, etc. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolves thee through the merit of his passion, in virtue of whose power as well as in the plentitude of apostolic power committed to me for this district, and conferred by me on thee, I absolve thee first of the great or the small excommunication which thou mayest have incurred; second, of all thy repented, confessed, and forgotten sins, by granting thee remission of all thy sins, and of the penalties of purgatory. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Turris domini Nicolai: et Ecclesia Sancti Antonij.

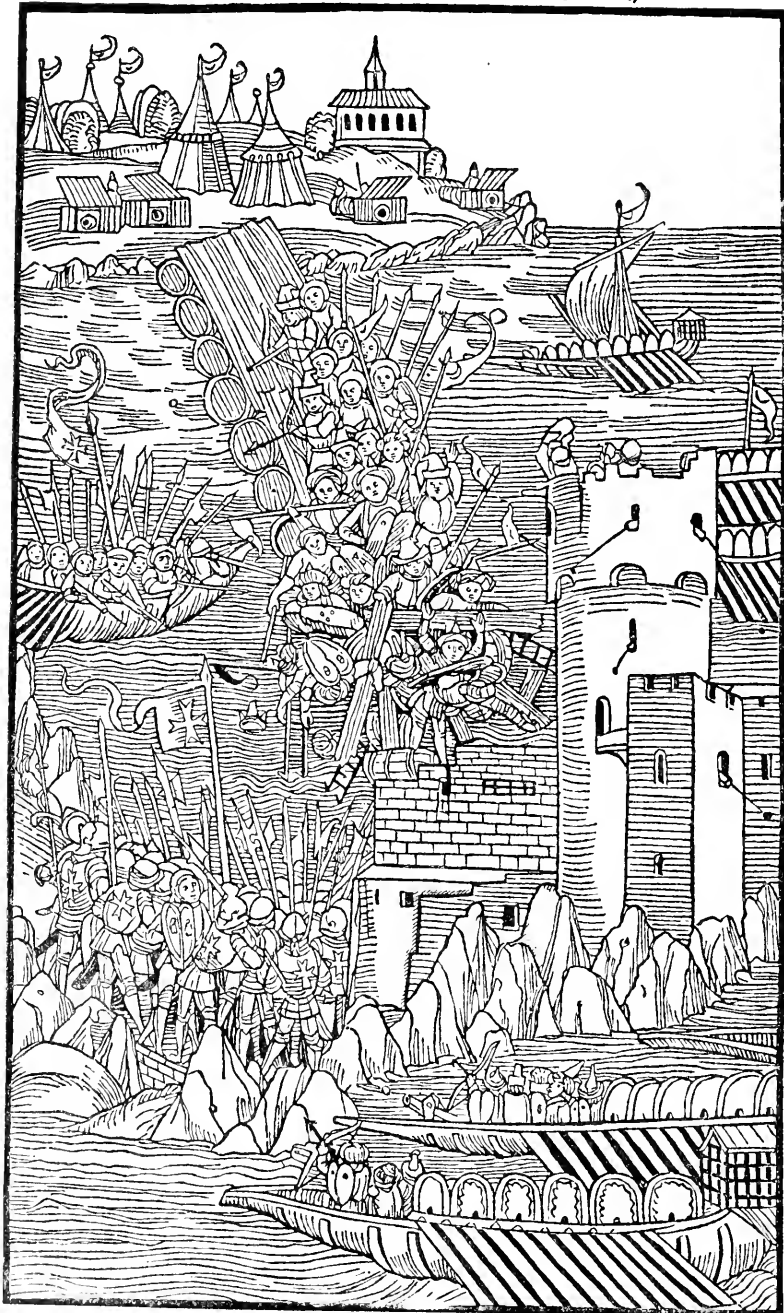


FIG. 145.—Attack made by the Turks in 1480 on the Tower of St. Nicholas, one of the strongest fortresses in the island of Rhodes. Facsimile of a wood-cut in "*Caorsini Obsidionis Rhodiae Urbis Descriptio*." (Printed at Ulm in 1496.)

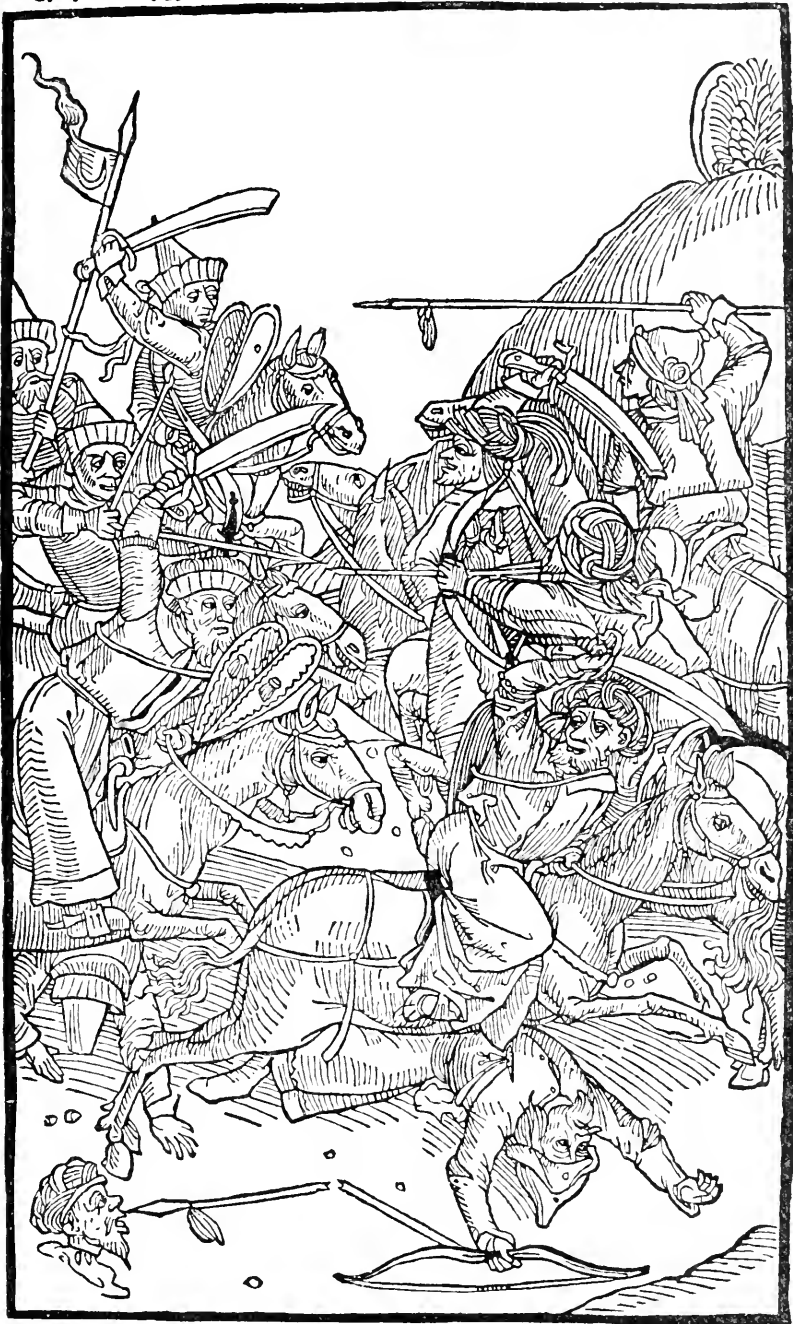


FIG. 146.—Woodcut illustrating the wars between Bajazet II. and Zezim. Facsimile from
"Caorsini Obsidionis Rhodiae Urbis Descriptio." (Ulm, 1496.)

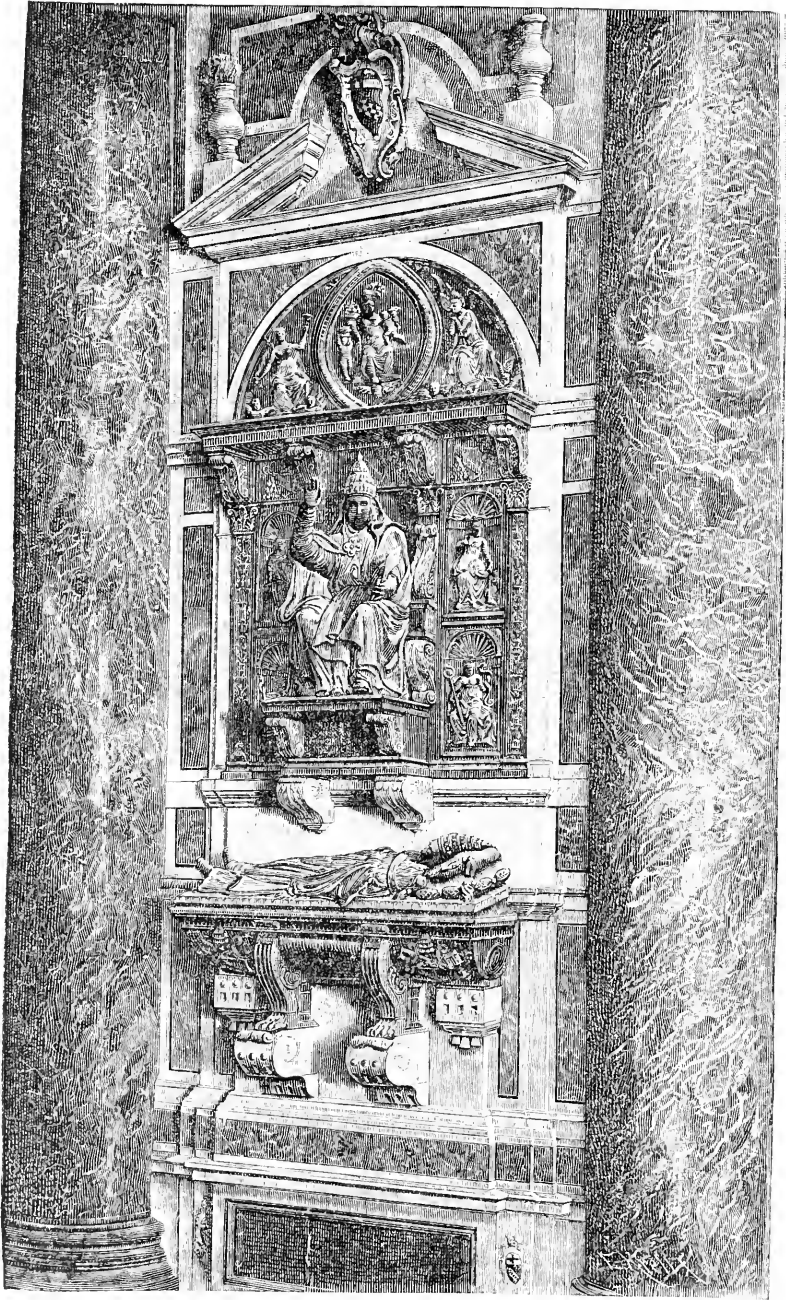


FIG. 117. Bronze Tomb of Pope Innocent VIII. in St. Peter's. Executed by Antonio Pollajuolo (1433-1498).

predominant democratic element into the government of Florence. In the midst of this party-strife the merchant princes of the house of



FIG. 148.—Copper coin of Pope Alexander VI. Obverse: ALEXANDER · VI · PONT · MAX. Reverse: CORONAT(io). Original size. (Berlin.)

the Medici gradually rose to the foremost position. Their beneficial influence developed in time to a tacitly recognized rule. At first Gio-



¹ FIG. 149.—Portrait of Cosmo de' Medici by Andrea del Verrocchio (1432-1488). (Berlin, Royal Gallery.)

vanni de' Medici won the confidence of all parties by his reform in the taxes. Continuing in this direction, his son, Cosmo (Fig. 149),

¹ Another famous example of portraiture from this time is seen in the relief portrait of Galeazzo Sforza (Fig. 153).

(1428–1464), without ever holding office, attained a princely position by his political insight, his pure patriotism and well-directed activity. His son, Piero (1464–1467), managed to maintain this position, although his exaggerated severity and the party-conflicts among his adherents threatened it with ruin; for during his long illness his relatives and followers abused his power.

All the good and brilliant sides of Medicean rule unfolded the more splendidly under Piero's son, Lorenzo the Magnificent (Fig. 150). The



FIG. 150.—Bust of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Painted terra-cotta. (Berlin, Royal Gallery.)

Florentines formally recognized him as their ruler. He had his faults and was not free from the loose pagan views of morality then prevalent. At the same time he had all the qualities of a ruler. He was very magnanimous, and an intelligent and enthusiastic devotee of the arts. In every respect Lorenzo was the classical representative of the revived Hellenic absolute monarchy on a democratic basis. It was due to the activity of Lorenzo (1469–1492) that the Florentines accustomed themselves to this form of government and allowed the Medici to become their hereditary rulers. Florence paid this tribute to their cultivation



FIG. 151.—Meeting of Duke Lorenzo Gonzaga and his son Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in the neighborhood of Rome. Painting by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) in the Castello di Corte at Mantua.

of the arts and of the economic life of the people, as well as to the respect which their rule infused at home and abroad.

However, the new political stability of Italy was once more shaken by disturbances in Milan. The powerful John Galeazzo Visconti had suddenly died in 1402. The state which he had set up decayed rapidly, and the disruption was increased by the strife within the ducal house of Milan and among its adherents. During its progress John's widow was deprived of the regency over her three sons, and her generals and governors became independent in part. Somewhat later John's successor, John Maria Visconti, one of the greatest of all tyrants, drove his subjects to general revolt. The leaders of the insurrection stabbed him, in 1412. His brother, Filippo Maria, who had taken Pavia with the help of the rebels, now succeeded him, and bought the recognition of his ducal office from King Sigismund. Assisted by the *condottiere*, Bussone of Carmagnola, he reconquered his father's territory. In 1425 he planned an attack on Florence. To avert the threatened predominance of the Visconti, Venice, Ferrara, the Gonzagas (Fig. 151) of Mantua, and Ravenna made an alliance with Florence. Genoa and Sigismund of Germany supported Milan. A furious war raged in Upper and Central Italy for

ten years. Peace was not made until 1441. Filippo Maria had to surrender Bergamo and Brescia to the Venetians.

Six years after this treaty Filippo died without issue, and the house of the Visconti was extinct. Milan returned to the republican form of government. Its subject cities followed its example, except those which had to submit to tyrants. But even after Milan had become a republic it was not willing to give up its old leading position in Lombardy; consequently, it tried to force the communes, which had fallen off from it, to submission. The military complications of Milan and the renewed strife between the Guelfs and Ghibellines showed that



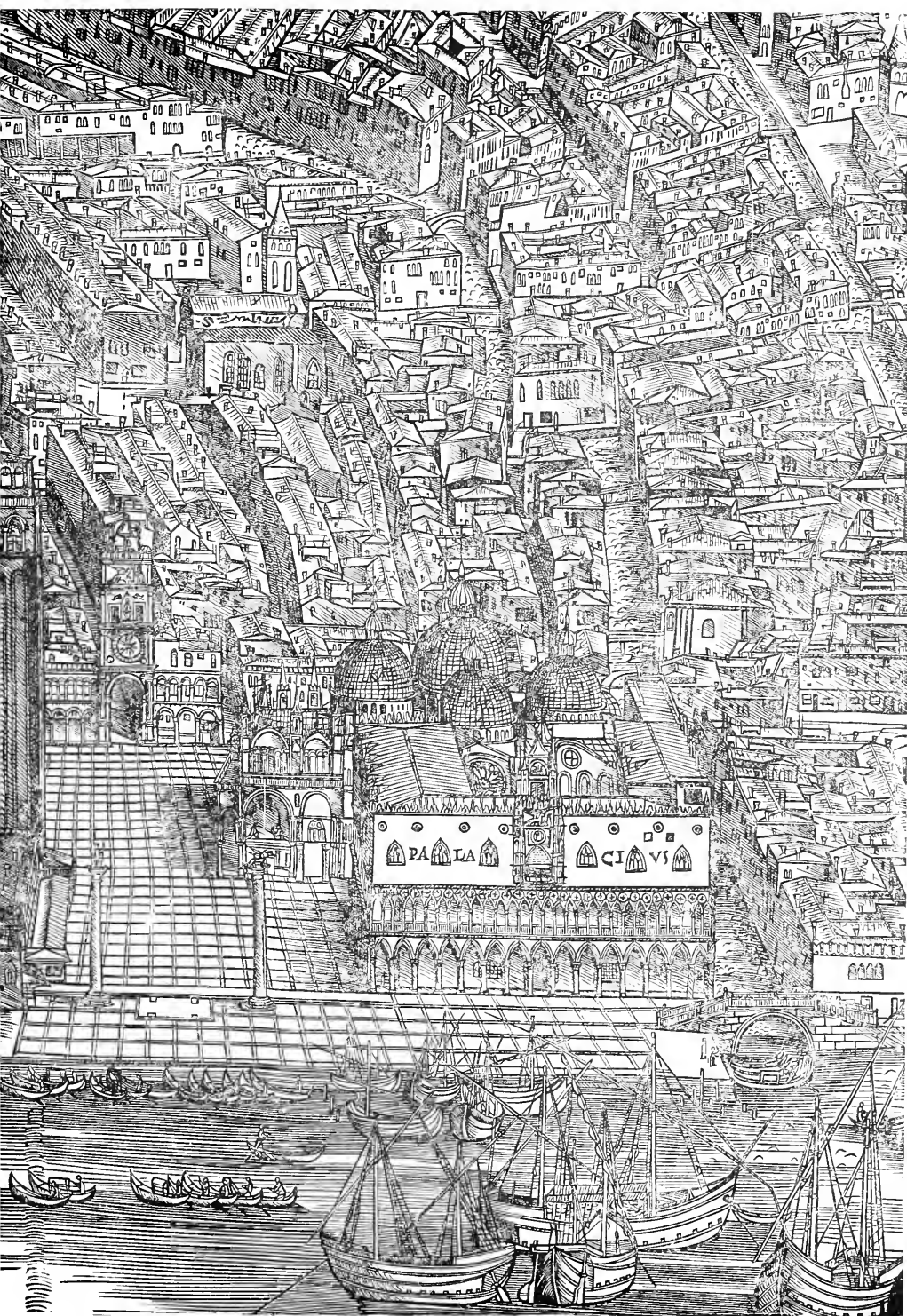
FIG. 152.—Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.

The "vicecomes" of the inscription is the Latin form of Visconti, which name the Sforzas adopted. The medal was probably struck about 1466, by Sperandio of Mantua. $\frac{3}{8}$ original size. (Berlin.)

a republic was impossible. In March, 1450, accordingly, the people rose and removed the republican authorities. Then they again made a lucky soldier their duke. It was Francesco Sforza (Fig. 152), who had won the favor of Filippo Maria Visconti and the hand of his natural



Part of the woodcut representing Venice



executed by Jacopo de Barbari in 1300.

esimile.

daughter, Bianca. Like a true *condottiere*, he had fought on many battle-fields and under many flags. After Visconti's death he wisely supported the republic with his mercenaries in the war against its subject cities. He convinced the Milanese that he was indispensable to them, and thus



FIG. 153. High relief of Galeazzo Sforza, by Mino da Fiesole (1400-1486). (Florence, National Museum.)

paid the way to monarchy. His subjects did not rue their choice. In 1454 Sforza made peace with Venice (PLATE XXV.¹), leaving it most

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXV.

Part of a woodcut representing Venice: made by Jacopo di Barbari in 1500. Reduced facsimile.

The original is executed in masterly fashion, and consists of six sheets, in all about ten feet long and nearly five feet high. Our cut, selected from the middle, represents the Piazzetta, with the two columns which support respectively the statue of St. Michael and the Lion of St. Mark; to the right the Doge's Palace, and beyond the Church of St. Mark's, with its domes. In the middle foreground is St. Mark's Piazza, with the clock-tower (*Torre dell' Orologio*), and the building known as the Old Procuratories, with its arcades. At the left of the Piazzetta is the Tower of St. Mark; the original crown of this tower was injured by lightning in 1489, and a temporary covering provided, which is figured in this cut. In 1514 the present lofty pyramid of stone was put in place. The "New Procuratories" on the left side of the Piazza of St. Mark's did not then exist, nor the Library, on the site of which—to the left of the Piazzetta—lies a low building.



FIG. 154.—Armor of a French knight at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (Museum of Tsarskoi Selo.)

of its conquests. He was zealous in promoting the well-being of his subjects by favoring agriculture, industry, trade and commerce. Nor did he neglect intellectual interests. His rule was firm and strict throughout, though not hard. The people honored him as the guardian of the public welfare. To ensure the future of the new dynasty, he engaged his daughter, Hippolyta, to Alfonso, the son of Ferdinand of Naples. He also engaged one of his sons to Ferdinand's daughter, Eleanor. In view of this family alliance, Louis XI. of France thought it best to be on good terms with the lucky upstart, and to allow the extension of his rule to Genoa in 1464.

But the death of Francesco Sforza put an end to the happy times of Milan and Lombardy; for his son, Galeazzo (Fig. 153), who became the next duke, soon caused general displeasure by his whimsical arbitrariness. His senseless extravagance only increased the discontent; his shameless dissoluteness added fuel to the flame, which he tried to put out by redoubling his tyranny. He was stabbed by three noblemen on Christ-

mas day, 1476. Nevertheless, his adherents preserved the rule for his house. His son, John Galeazzo, followed, under the regency of his mother, Bona, a sister of Duke Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, and a relative of Louis XI. of France (cf. Fig. 154). This relationship proved the source of fatal quarrels in the ducal house; for the regent had to give the brothers of the murdered duke a prominent share in the government. The ambitious Lodovico Sforza ('Il Moro') raised claims to the regency as the oldest male relative of the young duke. He pointed out the necessity of a change by reverting to the pitiful part the regent played in foreign politics; for while Genoa became independent and the Swiss spread to the south, the alliance with Florence threatened to involve Milan in the war between Florence and Naples. To keep the rising discontent in check, the regent drew the reigns tighter, and thus worked into the hands of Lodovico Moro. Finally, Simonetta, the secretary of state, was tried on empty charges and executed in 1480. As the regent could not hold her own, Moro was made guardian of the young duke. He skilfully used an attempted assassination to convince the excited populace that he was indispensable to them. He induced the people to pass measures for his safety, which increased his power and confirmed his position. The majority of his nephew brought about no change. He married him, to be sure, to a daughter of the Neapolitan heir-apparent. When Galeazzo died, in 1491, his heir was only one year old. But now it became perfectly clear that Lodovico Moro wished to exclude him from the ducal throne in his own behalf. At the request of his mother, her grandfather, Ferdinand of Naples, took the child's part and demanded of Moro its recognition as the heir and its freedom from harm. That forced the pretender into open action. He got aid both from Maximilian of Germany and Charles VIII. of France, who were long to be pitted against each other in Italy, which now became for generations the battle-ground for the armies of the foreign invaders.

One of the greatest blemishes of Maximilian's family policy is his support of the Milanese usurper. In accordance with a disgraceful compact, he married Moro's niece, Bianca Maria. Her colossal dowry of 400,000 ducats was enough to make Maximilian independent of the supplies of the princes, and opened the prospect of possible succession in Milan. At this price the German king invested Lodovico Moro with the duchy of Milan. But as the political situation did not warrant his counting on Maximilian's help, Moro turned simultaneously to France. He found ready support from the martial and ambitious Charles VIII. In 1488 they made a league against Naples. Lodovico promised the

king free passage through his territory, the furnishing of reinforcements, and the payment of subsidies. In return, Moro should have the duchy of Tarentum. Nobody could have acted more blindly than Lodovico Moro; for he called two deadly enemies into Italy, between whom he would be crushed first of all. (PLATE XXVI.).

In the summer of 1494 Charles VIII. invaded Italy with 50,000 men. After a short delay in Lombardy, he invaded Tuscany in the autumn. Here the situation was unexpectedly favorable. Piero de' Medici, who had succeeded his father, Lorenzo, in 1492, had made so many enemies in Florence, that his position was already insecure. Only a determined policy could have resisted the French attack; but instead of taking decided measures, Piero had recourse to negotiations. His humble prayer for peace only hastened the threatened popular outbreak against his rule. Its spiritual father was Girolamo Savonarola, the prior of San Marco, in Florence. He was a religious fanatic, whose powerful sermons had great effect on the people. His austere morality impressed his frivolous fellow-citizens. Savonarola's prophecies, which foretold the advent of a deliverer, quickened the outbreak of the pent-up popular discontent. Thinking Charles VIII. their saviour, the people rose and drove Piero de' Medici out. As the subject Florentine cities also joined the French king, the political order in Tuscany was completely destroyed. Although posing as a deliverer, Charles VIII. not only kept those cities which Piero had surrendered in his power, but also demanded subsidies from them. Nor was the conduct of his soldiers calculated to win the sympathy of the Florentines.

After the king had marched south, Savonarola (Fig. 155) induced the people to introduce a moderate democracy which luckily reconciled the existing antagonism between the classes. But this unity did not last long. Differences soon occurred between Savonarola and the citizens of Florence. In place of their former co-operation, opposition gained ground; for Savonarola was anything but a reformer in the sense of being a forerunner of a new age. Unquestionably a man filled with the purest enthusiasm and with rare practical political talent, he nevertheless did not understand the spirit of his time. In comparison with the tendency then prevalent in Italy, one might call his spirit quite reactionary. In opposition to the individualism and license taught by the then new humanism, Savonarola wished to give paramount authority to the word of the Bible in the true monastic spirit of the Middle Ages. Though the champion of political and national freedom, he sought to hedge in social life completely, and turn the world into one large monastery. Such sentiments brought him into conflict with the gay splendor and material-

PLATE XXVI.



Charles VIII. of France.

Portrait by an unknown artist of the fifteenth century. Painted on wood. One-third the size of the original. (Paris, in private ownership.)



ism of Florentine life. He appeared as an enemy of the new spirit, and quickly fell in the estimation of the once so enthusiastic citizens. Savonarola lost his foothold, and entered on a hopeless struggle which could only end in his martyrdom.

The unfavorable turn in the enthusiast's affairs was accelerated by the course of the war. Charles VIII. forced from Pope Alexander VI. a passage through the papal states to Naples. The pope likewise promised to enfeoff him with that kingdom, which in 1495 was in his hands, together with its capital. Ferdinand II. had to seek refuge elsewhere. The rapid progress of the French conquest changed the mood of the Italians. Charles VIII. had become their master, which was enough to make them his enemies. They surrounded him with difficulties, Alexander VI. did not keep his promise, and Lodovico Moro led a quasi-national movement in Lombardy to expel the foreigners. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain also joined the league which he made with the pope, Venice, and Ferdinand II. of Naples. Charles VIII. had to hasten northward, so as not to be cut off from

France. In July, 1495, he defeated the league at Fornovo. Presently Lodovico Moro changed sides by making a separate treaty with France. It guaranteed him Genoa as a French fief at the price of his desertion



FIG. 155.—Medal with likeness of Savonarola. Struck in copper. Original size. Obverse: HIERONYMUS · SAVO · FER [rariensis] VIR · DOCTISS · ORDINIS · PREDICARVM. Reverse: SVP · TERAM · CITO ET VELOCITER · GLADIVS · DOMINI. (Berlin.)

from the league. After the retreat of the French, an Aragonese army appeared in Naples, and soon freed it again. The French now had to give up even their posts in the papal states. Meanwhile, Maximilian was planning to join Venice and Lodovico Moro against Florence, which still clung to Charles VIII.

This was chiefly the work of Savonarola, who still saw in the French king the chosen of God to realize his ideals. Still his mighty eloquence (Fig. 156) exercised its old spell. Its current bore a large part of the population along with Savonarola, so that his monastic reform of civic life gradually took root. But at this point the counteraction of Piero de' Medici and his adherents set in. Tumultuous riots broke out in the

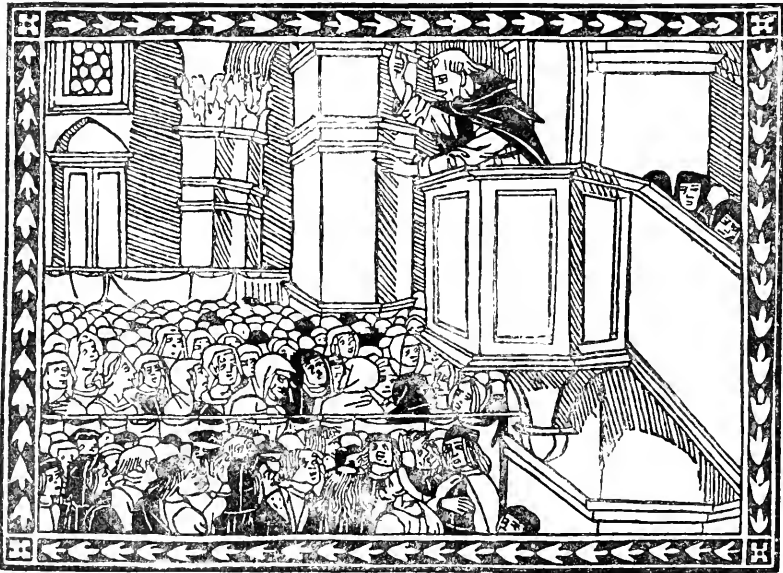
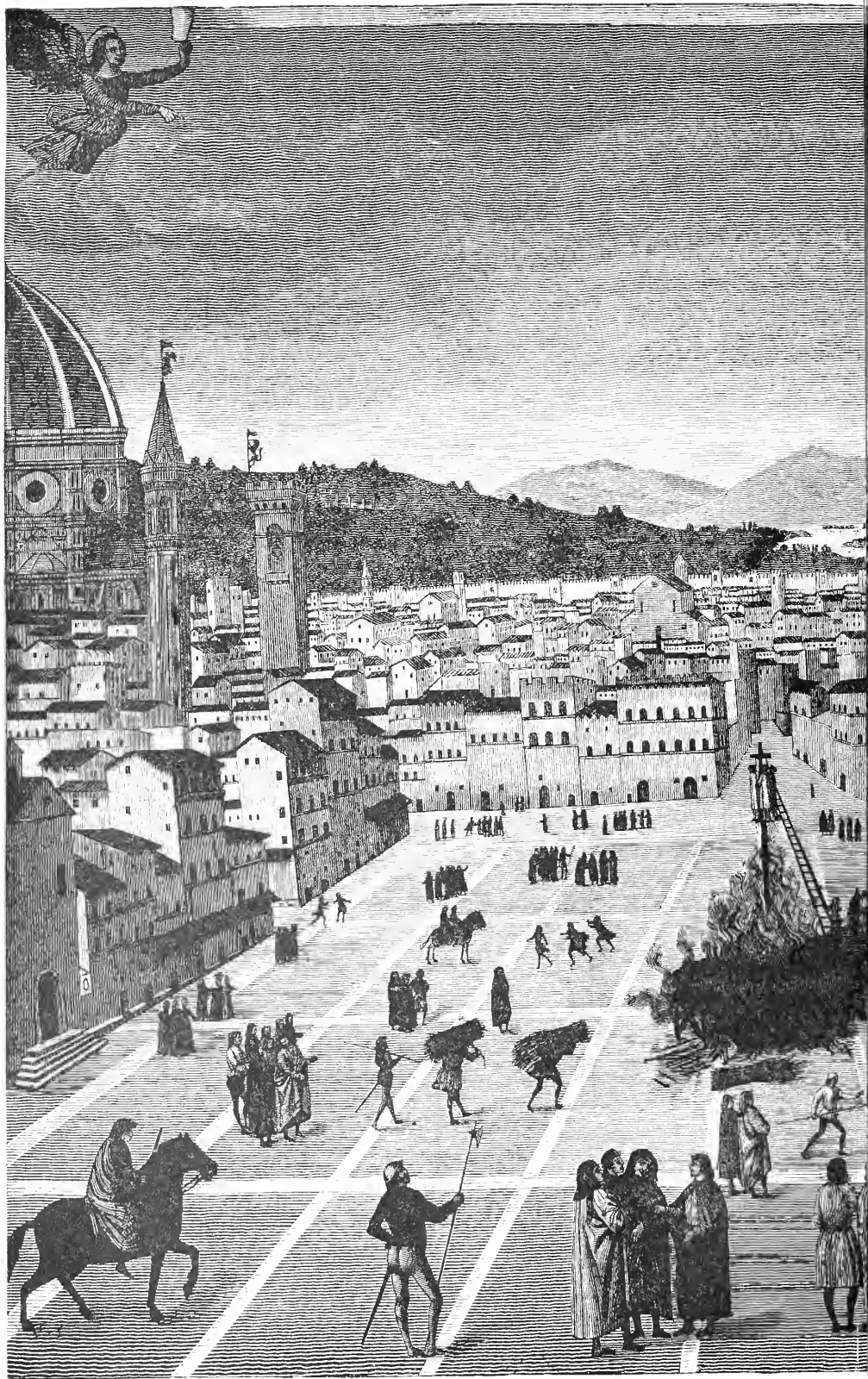


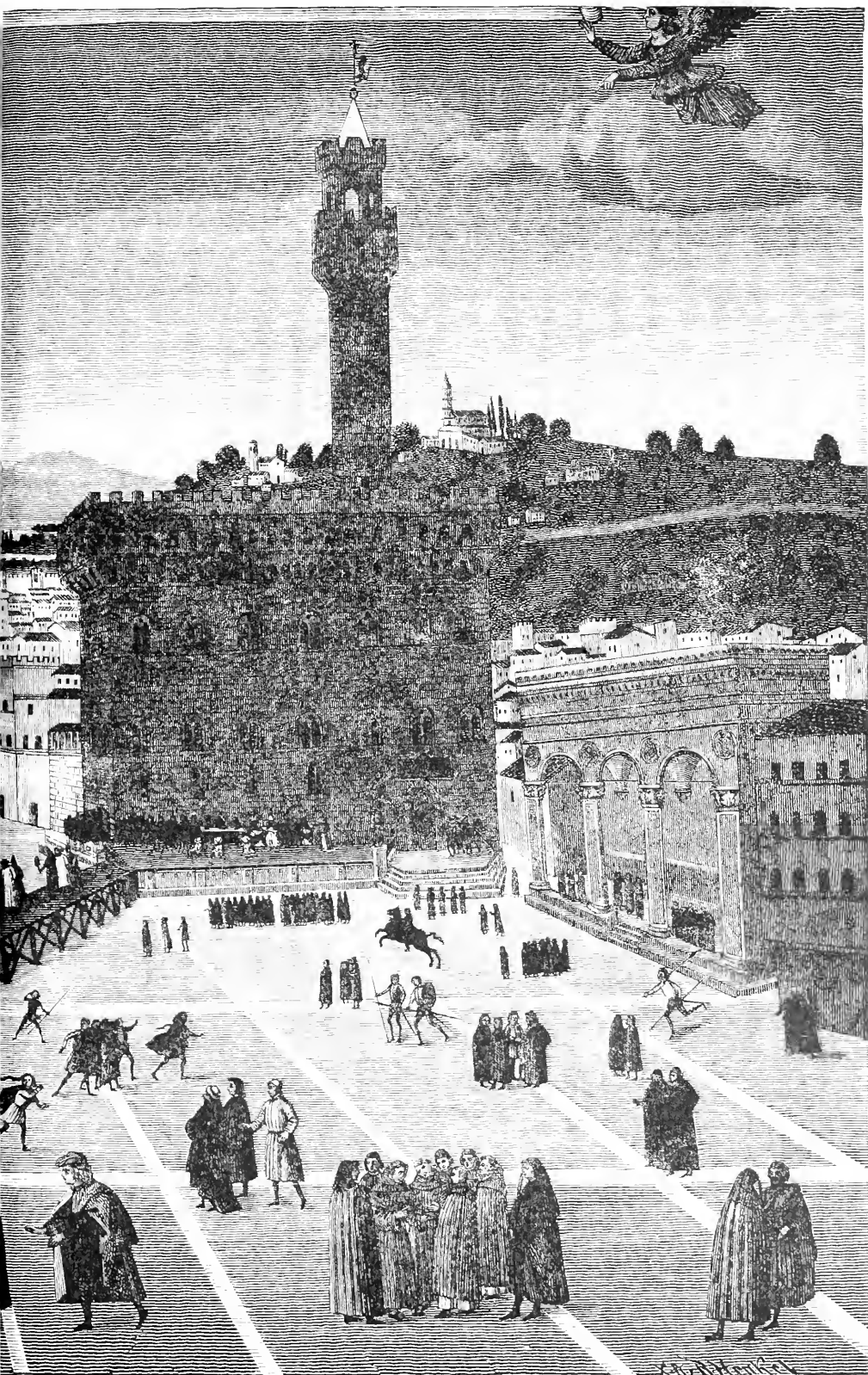
FIG. 156.—Savonarola preaching. Facsimile of a contemporary Italian woodcut.

spring of 1497, when the opposition wished to stop Savonarola's preaching. But his followers protected him with arms. Thereupon, his enemies induced Pope Alexander VI. to excommunicate him, and Savonarola had to retire from public life. The spell by which he had held the people was broken. His respectful but energetic written justification naturally made no impression in Rome. In spite of the ban, he again preached in public. Besides, he exposed his theological opinions to public view in his "Triumph of the Cross." Its dogma was orthodox, but it contained a severe condemnation of the worldly and immoral papacy of his time. On the strength of this tract, the papal court demanded



The Burning of Savonarola and the Dominican Monks

From a contemporaneous painting in Savonarola's



on the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, May 23, 1498.

cell in the monastery of San Marco in Florence.

Savonarola's surrender in the beginning of 1498. Florence refused to give him up, but also forbade his preaching any more. Thereupon, Savonarola appealed to a general council, and directed urgent epistles to various European kings. The Florentine agitation consequently threatened to assume dimensions very hazardous to the papacy. Through the medium of the perfidious Lodovico Moro, the papal court got possession of Savonarola's letters to the various sovereigns, and brought a charge of heresy against him. Several of his disciples offered to disprove the unfounded charge by the ordeal of fire; but before it could take place Savonarola's enemies made it impossible by setting up unacceptable conditions. Thereupon his foes claimed that the accused had withdrawn from the ordeal, in the consciousness of guilt; this robbed him of the sacred halo which had surrounded him in the eyes of the people. Urged on by the Medicean opposition, the mob stormed the monastery of San Marco. They took Savonarola and his adherents prisoners. A special court sat on his case. It twisted the evidence so as to make his guilt appear incontrovertible. Papal legates approved of the sentence. On May 23, 1498, Savonarola and his brother monks, Silvestro and Dominico, were burnt at the stake, in the square fronting the Seigniorial palace at Florence (PLATE XXVII.). However, neither the restoration of the Medici nor the renunciation of the French alliance followed. In fact, a new French invasion threatened another revolution.

Charles VIII. had died without reverting to his former plans. His successor, Louis XII., determined to carry them out. As the grandson of Valentine Visconti, he raised claims to Milan. Ferdinand of Aragon promised him support at the price of Naples. In a few weeks Louis conquered Lombardy, in the summer of 1499. Lodovico Moro took refuge in the Tyrol to seek aid from King Maximilian; and he really succeeded, in 1500, in winning back his power once more. But just then his mercenaries revolted and delivered him to Louis XII., who removed him to France as a state prisoner, while he united Milan with the French crown. There was nothing left for Maximilian but to invest Louis with the duchy in the name of the empire. Together with a Spanish fleet, the French then took Naples in 1505. In the meantime they aided Cesare Borgia in his attempt to get Romagna into his power, while Florence went to war with Pisa. The French took King Ferdinand of Naples and his son to France as prisoners of war. But the dispute about the division of their conquests between France and Spain led to war in 1502. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the general of Ferdinand the Catholic, drove the French out of Naples in 1504. After Louis XII. had vainly attacked Spain by land and sea, he resolved on making peace.

By the Peace of Lyons (1504) he received Milan, while Naples went to the Spanish king as a vice-kingdom. On the other hand, Louis succeeded in again subjecting Genoa in 1507 to his rule. Maximilian now recalled his grant of Milan to the French king, and received the two sons of Lodovico Moro at his court. By assuming the imperial title in



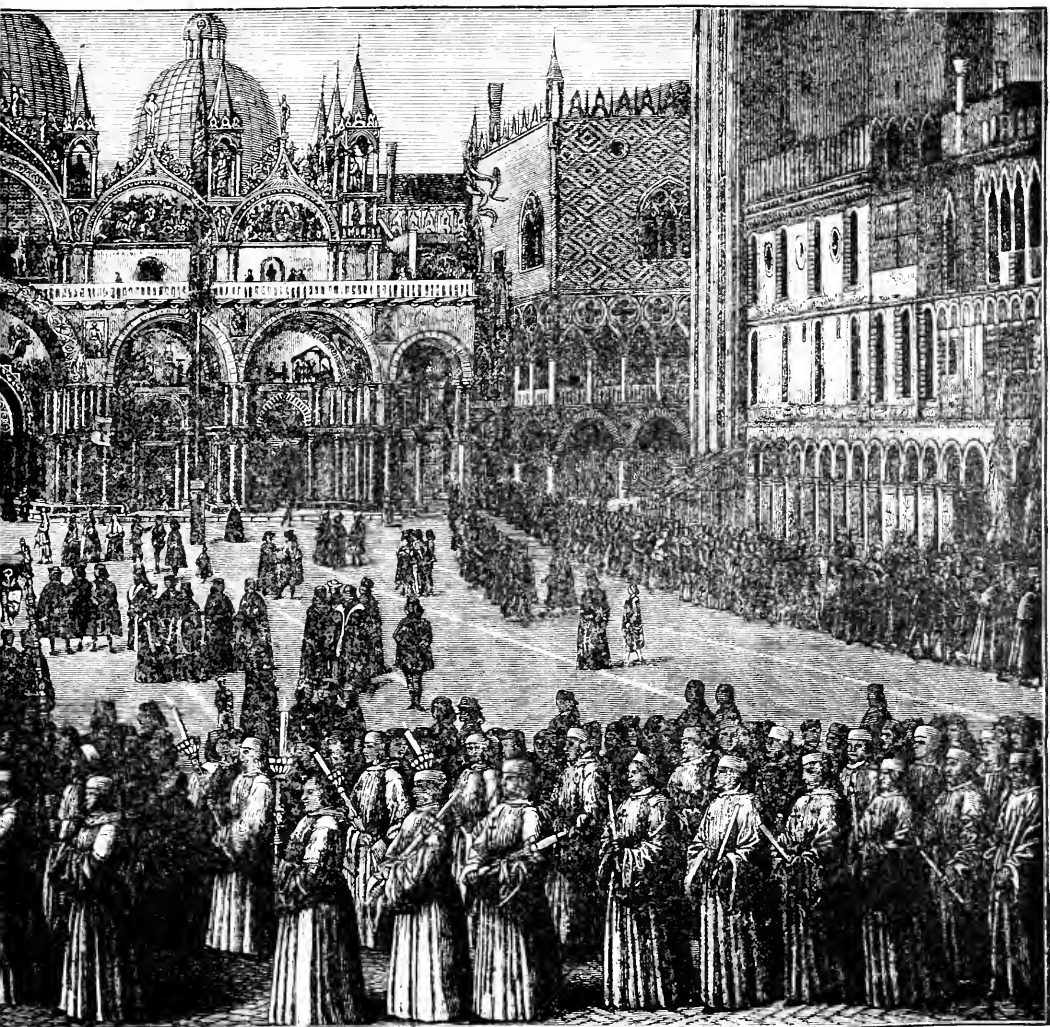
FIG. 157.—Scene from Maximilian's war with Venice. Wood-cut in Albert Dürer's "Gate of Honor" of Emperor Maximilian I.

1508, with the pope's consent, the emperor gave expression to his purpose of making good the rights of the empire in Lombardy with the sword. But the Venetians refused to let his army pass through their territory. A war ensued (Fig. 157), in which Emperor Maximilian



Procession of the Reliques of the Holy Cross

Painting by Gentile Bellini (1427)



on the Square of St. Mark in Venice, 1496.

01) in the Academy of Venice.

PLATE XXIX.



Pope Julius II.

Reduced facsimile of a wood-cut, in two blocks, by Hugo da Carpi (1455-1523).

History of All Nations, Vol. X., page 381.

was so badly worsted that he had to make a truce in 1508, and give up his plans for the time being. To avenge this humiliation, however, became the prime object of Maximilian's future policy.

Venice (PLATE XXVIII.) had made many enemies. The European states had taken offence not only at its ambitious attempt to extend its territory on the continent at the expense of Milan, but also at its faithless policy. Its last breach of faith was the truce it had made with Maximilian to the disadvantage of France. The new pope, Julius II. (Fig. 158) (1503-1513), had a particular grudge against Venice, and was



FIG. 158.—Coin of Pope Julius II. called *testone*. Original size. (Berlin.) Obverse: IULIVS · II · PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS. Reverse: the family arms of the pope below, with papal crown and crossed keys above. Legend: PAX · ROMANA.

bent on its destruction. Common hatred of that city joined the pope, Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Louis XII. together in the League of Cambrai, which they made in 1508. Its object was the partition of Venice. Simultaneously Maximilian invested the French heir-apparent and his father with the duchy of Milan. But the diplomatic skill of Venice soon put an end to the unnatural league. With the aid of their subject cities the Venetians warded off Maximilian, who vainly besieged Padua. Finally, he had to raise the siege from lack of money supplies. The republic also coped successfully with Louis XII., while it won Ferdinand by surrendering the coast towns of Apulia, and mollified the pope with the grant of the contested parts of Romagna. Thus the League of Cambrai dissolved before it had really taken effect.

The politic pope had meanwhile prepared a more surprising change by founding a Holy League for the expulsion of the foreigners from Italy. After having come to terms with the Swiss, who furnished mercenaries, the pope won over Ferdinand of Aragon by recognizing his rule in Naples. Next he forced the unwilling Italian princes to join the league. Thus prepared, Julius II. (PLATE XXIX.) openly opposed Louis XII. (Fig. 159) and Maximilian. The latter let the brunt of the war in 1511 fall on the French king on account of the dearth of means. As he had to reckon with the possibility of an English attack, the French

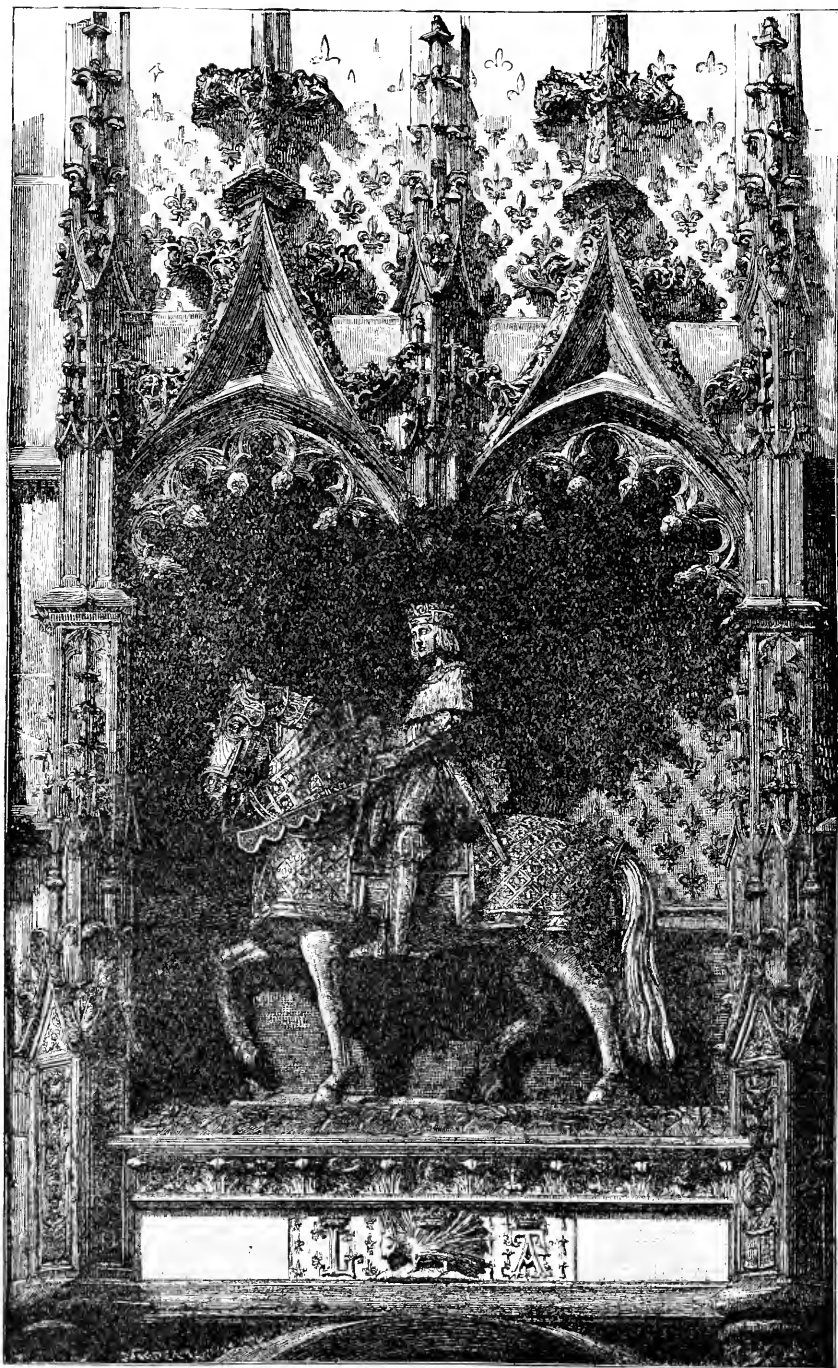
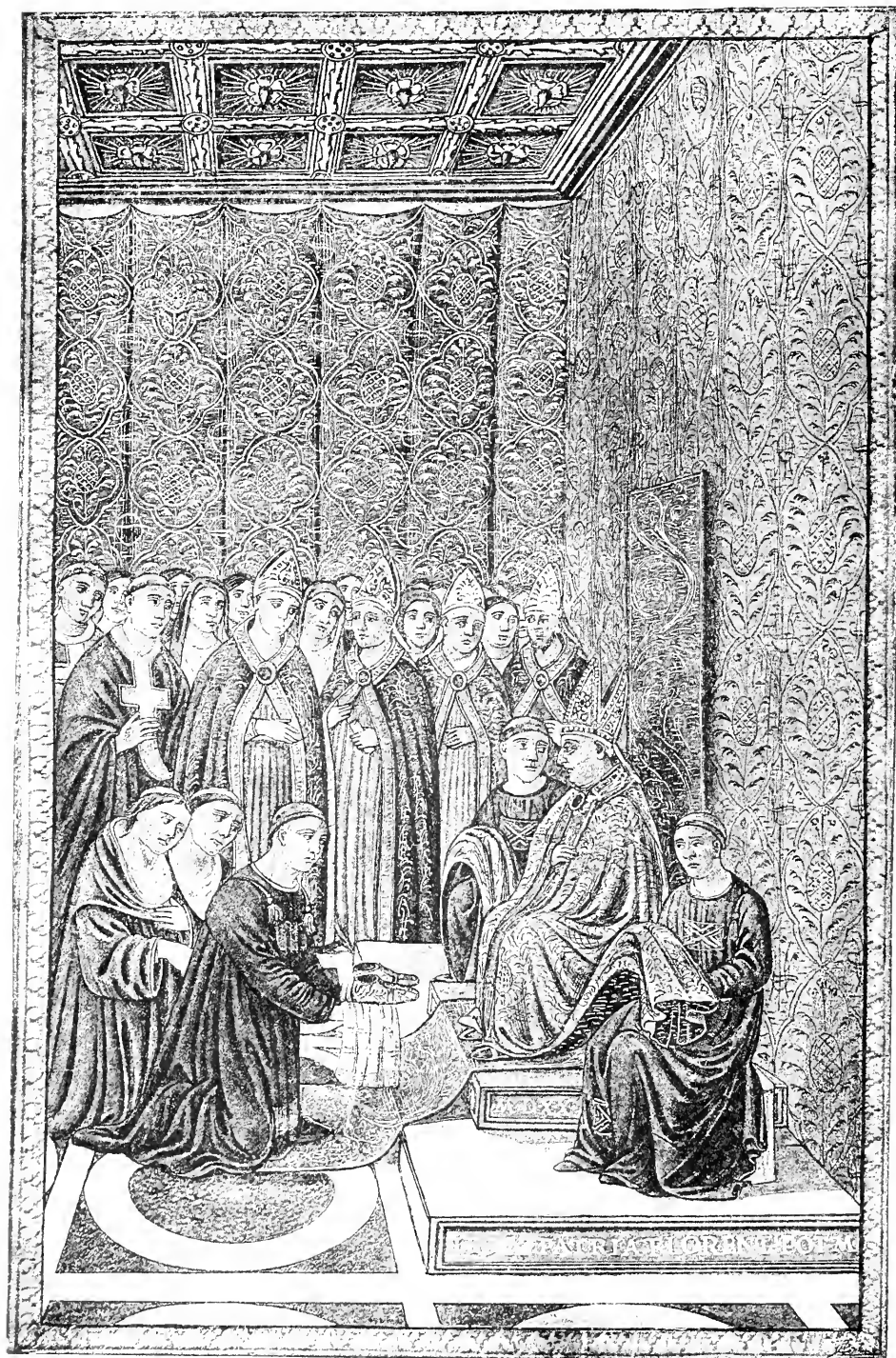


FIG. 159.—Equestrian statue of Louis XII. in the Château of Blois, the king's birthplace.
(Fifteenth century work.)



Pope Leo X. receiving the Golden Slippers.

Dedication in a *Præparatio ad missam* made for Leo X. and adorned with many miniatures.
Manuscript on parchment (1520). Berlin.

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king tried to raise difficulties for Julius II. within the church. He demanded the summoning of a general council to Pisa. Although it was opened, the council accomplished nothing in the matter of reform, because the pope called a Lateran council for the spring of 1512.

Thus the war proved unfavorable to France, in spite of the victory of Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, in 1512, a victory which cost him his life. At the end of that year France had lost Italy. The Medici again returned to power in Florence. Finally Maximilian fell off from the French alliance. Matters did not improve until Venice, fearing the pope's schemes, deserted the Holy League and went over to France. Besides, Pope Julius II. died, in 1513. His successor, Leo X. (1513-1521) (PLATE XXX.), the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, took no interest in schemes for Italian unification. He was entirely taken up with the aggrandizement of his house. The French attempt to retake Milan, where Lodovico Moro's son, Massimiliano Sforza, reigned, ended in the defeat of Novara, in June, 1513. Furthermore, England now entered the contest. Henry VIII., who had married Catharine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, landed in Biscaya and assisted the Aragonese in the conquest of Navarre. Then he attacked Picardy and besieged Terouanne. To relieve this town, Louis XII. withdrew his troops from Italy. Moreover, when the Germans and Swiss made a combined invasion of Burgundy, the French king had to make a speedy peace with them to prevent further disaster. In the summer of 1514, he made a treaty with England. By its terms, Louis XII. married Mary, the young daughter of Henry VIII. But he died in the next year, and the crown passed to his cousin Francis, Duke of Angoulême. The latter was a very spirited youth, and was quite displeased with the disadvantageous English treaty. He resolved, therefore, to preserve Milan, at least, for France.

The war soon broke out. But now Francis I. (1515-1547) had the advantage, because Milan was heartily sick of the Swiss mercenaries and longed to be rid of them; therefore, the French king first offered terms of peace and was willing to buy off their withdrawal with concessions; but the majority of the Swiss was for a pitched battle. On September 13 and 14, 1515, it took place at Marignano (now Melegnano), near Milan. The Swiss stood firm on the first day, but on the second they had to give way. They retreated in good order, nor did the exhausted enemy pursue them. Ten thousand Swiss fell, and seven thousand French.

Francis I. was now lord of Milan. Massimiliano Sforza surrendered it to him, and henceforth lived on a French pension. The brilliant beginning of the campaign filled the French king with an unbounded

belief in his military genius, which became one of the springs of his later policy. But, for the moment, Francis I. was satisfied with what he had attained; for the Hapsburgs, whose enmity to the Valois was the chief result of the twenty years' Italian war, also gave up hostilities for the present. But, in 1516, Ferdinand the Catholic died, and his and Maximilian's grandson, Charles V., succeeded in both Spain and Germany. He still resided in the Netherlands, and had Cardinal Ximenes represent him in Spain. However, he was so involved in domestic difficulties that he wished to avoid all foreign ones for the time being. Consequently, Charles V. made peace with Francis I. at Noyon, which left Milan to the French king. Pope Leo X. (Fig. 160) also hastened to make terms



FIG. 160.—Silver coin of Pope Leo X., called *giulio*. Original size. Obverse: St. Peter's, according to a discarded design, with two towers: below, a lion toying with a globe (*type parlant* for Leo). Legend: LEO DECIMVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS MARC. The last means that the coin was struck off for circulation in the marches. Reverse: St. Peter, enthroned, receiving from the kneeling pope a model of the church. Legend: PETRE · ECCE · TEMPLVM · TVVM. (Berlin, Royal Cabinet of Coins.)

with France. He gave Parma and Piacenza to Milan, Reggio and Modena to the Este of Ferrara, retaining only Bologna. Maximilian could do nothing but indorse this act.

During the twenty years' war in Italy a great change had taken place in the political system of Europe. On the one hand the house of Hapsburg arose to universal sovereignty. Arrayed against it stood France with its martial and ambitious young king. This situation formed the basis of a dynastic, political, and national antagonism which for two and a half centuries swayed the fortunes of the Old World and in good part those of the New World.

Germany had played the smallest part in the great process of political, social, and economic reorganization which had filled Europe for the last two generations. But there the renowned deliverance from mediæval bondage was already preparing in a monastic cell. It ushered in a new age of spiritual life, to pave the way for which Germany of all states was called upon. Germany already had its share in the intellectual awakening of the time. The Renaissance began by replacing the Roman literature,



A Lecture-room in an Italian University

Painting on parchment by Laurentius de Voltolina (beginning of the fifteenth century)
(Cabinet of Engravings.) Actual size. The grass at the bottom of the picture indicates



University of the fifteenth century.

represents a lecture on ethics by Brother Heinrich de Allemannia. (Berlin, Royal
 states that the lecture was held in the open air, in a court walled in on all sides.

which had been the basis of mediæval culture, by the Greek, which first became known in Italy early in the fourteenth century. If, on the one hand, this phase was a continuation of tendencies toward intellectual freedom which had resulted from the Crusades, the fear of the Turks now stimulated its development; for about this time fugitive Byzantine scholars found a new field for their activity in Italy. The development was again furthered by the attempts at reconciliation between the western and eastern Catholic churches in the age of the Great Councils. But the decisive factor in the Renaissance movement was the conviction that the hitherto exclusive ecclesiastical absolutism had as little justification or authority in intellectual as in political life. As the experiences of the Crusades mollified the antagonism between Christianity and Mohammedanism, so now the relation between Christianity and classical paganism underwent the same change. The mediæval church had suppressed and ignored the individual, whereas now man came into his full rights again and dared to unfold his individual talents and capabilities to the utmost. Consequently the whole movement has been aptly called Humanism. Its cradle stood in Italy. Thence it spread north of the Alps, but nowhere did it become so much at home or so effective as in Germany.

From the days when Petrarch first learned Greek from the Calabrian Barlaam, and from 1396 when the Greek fugitive Chrysoloras was a professor of his language in Florence, to the beginning of the sixteenth century, humanism had grown to be a great power. Even the church, where Nicholas V. had been the first to receive it favorably, could no longer withdraw itself from its influence. The humanistic spirit became the fashionable and leading one in Italy. Emperor Maximilian introduced it in Germany, and Francis I. gave it a place of equal importance in his kingdom. It hastened the great process of social change which had been brought about by the fall of feudalism and the shifting of commercial relations through the great geographical discoveries. The distinctions of caste disappeared, even if a great overestimation of scholarship obtained here and there, and the cult of classic antiquity led to offensive immorality and a naturalistic pantheism. Such excesses, however, were limited to a small circle, and do not condemn a justified and highly meritorious movement.

But if the real humanistic culture was restricted to a sharply defined class, ever-growing circles of laymen derived benefit and stimulation from the new intellectual results attained by this small group (PLATE XXXI.). This opened a wider horizon for the general public, and led it to freer views and more independent judgment; for at that very time

it became possible to make the fruit of individual research the property of all with great ease and in a short space of time. Therein lies the historical importance of the invention of printing. It offered the spirit of the new age a weapon with which it could win its battles.

Since the fourteenth century the art of wood-cutting had produced playing cards and various kinds of pictures, even those with short subscrip-



FIG. 161.—Detail from Hans Burgkmair's "Triumph" of Emperor Maximilian I.

tions. But that was far removed from the invention of movable types by a citizen of Mayence, John Gensfleisch, called Gutenberg. He carved single letters in high relief on wood, by combining which he made the printing of books possible (PLATE XXXII.¹) Together with the copyist, Peter

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXII.

First Example of Printing from Movable Types.

Facsimile of the first page of the pamphlet: *Eine Mahnung der Christenheit wider die Türken* ('Christendom warned against the Turks'). It was printed by Gutenberg in Mayence, in 1454, and is the first book printed with movable types. It is a nine-paged pamphlet written for the new year 1455, and draws the attention of spiritual and temporal princes to the danger from the Turks. Only one copy is extant, and is preserved in the Royal Library at Munich.

Ern manūg dī crīstēheit wīdd dīe durckē

Almechtig kōnig in hīmels tron
 Der uff ertrich ein dorne crone Wñ
 sin streit baner vñ blude roit Das heilge
 cruce in sterbend not Selb hat getragē
 zu dī mart' groīs Wñ dē bittē dot nackt
 vñ bloīs Dar an vmb menschlich heil
 gelickē Wñ ons do mit erloist vñ erstrickē
 Wñ den bosē fyant vñ wūden hylff ons
 vorbas in allē stūden wīdd unser fynde
 durckett vñ heiden Mache en yren bosē
 gewalt leidē Den sie zu cōstantinopel in
 kriechē lant jñt manchē crīstē menschē
 begangē hant Mit fahen martē vñ dot
 slagē vñ vñmehē Als den aposteln vor
 zūtē ist gescheen Vmb die xij stücke des
 heiligen glaubē gut halt xij die gulden
 zale in hut Auch werden dīs iar xij nu=
 mer schim Visiteren die xij zeichē des hīm=
 mels dīn Als mā zelet noch dīn geburt
 offenbar M. iiii. lo. iar Siebē wochē

First example of printing from movable types, 1454. First page of Gutenberg's "Eine mahnung der christinheit wider die Türken."

Schöffer, he printed the first Bible in 1456, thanks to the financial help of Johann Fust, a rich goldsmith of Mayence. But when Gutenberg met the neglect which frequently falls to the lot of the inventor and died in the service of the Archbishop of Mayence, in 1468, Schöffer continued his work. He gave the black-letter art its universal significance by making type of a metallic composition which was strong and elastic enough to be generally used with the ink he had also invented. Not until then was it possible for the great intellectual and religious leaders of the time to influence the mass of their contemporaries ; for now the written word could be indefinitely multiplied with comparative ease.

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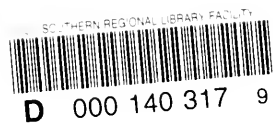
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